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Searching for Social Justice: An Ethnographic Study of a Historically Black University's PETE Classroom

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Searching for Social Justice: An Ethnographic Study of a Historically Black University's PETE Classroom

by

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Searching for Social Justice: An Ethnographic Study of a Historically Black University's PETE Classroom

by

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Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) have played and continue to play an important role in uplifting African Americans through education. Most of these institutions began as normal schools designed to prepare teachers who would train and educate students of color—a population that has been historically marginalized and oppressed. Scholarly conversations regarding teaching and teacher education for social justice omit the contributions of HBCUs. Likewise, scholarship about social justice within the field of Physical Education Teacher Education (PETE) has been minimal. These trends including the current overemphasis on the training of a monolithic White female middle class teaching force served to justify the ethnographic study in an historically Black PETE program.

Rooted in situated learning theory, this study used ethnographic methods and methodology to explore the manifestations of social justice and (physical education) teacher education at Jackie Robinson University (JRU)—an HBCU. This study uncovered several cultural manifestations of social justice within JRU using interviews,

artifact analyses, and observations of several cultural manifestations about social justice and teacher educating for social justice were uncovered. One of the most prominent manifestations is "The Gap," a theme that can be seen throughout the historical and contemporary culture of JRU. In one sense, "The Gap" represents the void filled by the university as it provides educational opportunities for students with limited educational options. In another sense, "The Gap" represents tensions within the institution. These tensions exist as gaps among students, faculty, administration, and the university as a whole. Despite "The Gap," teacher education for social justice exists in the culture of JRU as forms of care and culturally relevant pedagogy. While these cultural manifestations were located within specific classrooms, they represent the ethos of the university as a whole. The findings of this study offer both theoretical and practical value. From a theoretical perspective, the findings shed insight into the meaning of social justice and (physical education) teacher education for social justice in an ethnically diverse context. In a practical sense, the strategies utilized by (physical education) teacher educators at JRU foster a classroom culture of holistic education.

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Prelude

Rather than staying in Austin, TX the summer after my first year as a PhD student, I decided to go home to Charlotte, NC. Hoping to return to my community and cultural roots, I was excited about teaching summer school at the charter school where I began my teaching career. However, teaching was not my only endeavor. Before the break, I decided that it would be the perfect time for me to overindulge through eating! By eating, I do not mean devouring massive amounts of food, but rather spending the majority of my free time feeding my mind through the reading of books, articles, and other materials related to social justice and Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). In my studies, I stumbled across the work of Dr. Walter Kimbrough, the Hip-Hop Prez, who at the time was one the youngest, if not the youngest, president of a university in the country. It was just my luck that he had become president of Philander Smith College, a small HBCU located in Little Rock, AK. Intrigued by the man who had been dubbed, the first college president of an HBCU to represent the Hip-Hop Generation (Kimbrough, 2013), I decided to do more investigating. In one video, Dr. Kimbrough described how, in 2007, Philander Smith College launched a new social justice initiative, whereby students would be encouraged to take on the responsibility of making their communities better (Walter Kimbrough, 2009).

When it was time to return to school, I decided to take a detour and visit Philander Smith College, and meet the Hip-Hop Prez. Curious as to what prompted his decision to infuse social justice within the culture of Philander Smith, I inquired as to

what led to the rebranding of the institution. Kimbrough explained that upon becoming president of Philander Smith, he was adamant about learning as much about the history of the institution as he was learning about the current climate. In his investigation, it was discovered that social justice had always been central to the identity of the institution. Like any ethical ethnographer, Dr. Kimbrough's initial approach to Philander Smith was not presumptuous but rather one of humble inquiry. For Philander Smith and perhaps many other HBCUs, social justice is a concept that may not always be overtly stated but is rooted in the history and underlying mission of these institutions.

The aforementioned summer of community, culture, intrigue, and historical positioning was a catalyst to the current ethnographic inquiry of social justice in the culture and context of an HBCU.

Chapter One: Introduction

It can be argued that no concept better exemplifies the zeitgeist of teacher education more so than social justice. This might be due to the widespread and proliferate nature of research and literature pertaining to social justice within education (Cochran-Smith, 2009; Zeichner, 2009). Scholars of all races, ethnicities, genders, classes, and sexual orientations have made careers researching and publishing the role of social justice in education at every level and within every subject area. For example, Michael Apple (2004), a White scholar, is known for his critiques of history textbooks. Within physical education teacher education (PETE), three African American scholars, Burden, Hodge, and Harrison (2012), have explored teacher educators' perceptions of social justice. Additionally, social justice practices have been measured within elementary mathematics classrooms using the Teaching for Social Justice Observation Scale (Mitescu, Pedulla, Cannady, Cochran-Smith, & Jong, 2011). Solórzano and Yosso (2002), two Latina scholars, explained how critical race methodology could be used to shed light on the silenced stories of marginalized people within education. Regardless of the seemingly ubiquitous nature of social justice within education, equity remains a goal yet to be achieved, while inequity remains a more tangible reality (Ladson-Billings, 2006).

Considering the saturation of social justice within teacher education literature, there are those who would question the need for further study on such a topic. Nevertheless, I argue that there are several limitations to the current usage,

conceptualization and theoretical underpinnings of social justice. Although I explain later in more detail, one limitation of teaching for social justice within education is that it represents liberal egalitarian approaches to teaching and teacher education. For example, Cochran-Smith (2009) suggested several political philosophies can inform teacher education for social justice. One of these philosophies is a radical liberal theory of democracy, justice, and schooling, suggested by Kenneth Howe (1997), whereby only liberal egalitarian approaches to education can adequately address concerns for social justice. This is problematic because social justice receives the most recognition when scholars representing the most privileged institutions promulgate it. Coincidentally, these scholars are also more likely to work with more privileged teacher education students. This premise of this study highlights that teacher education and teaching for social justice are contextual and therefore the usage, conceptualization, and theoretical underpinnings of social justice are dependent upon where it occurs. Because of the limited scope and perception of social justice in education, I chose ethnography was as an appropriate methodology for this study. Ethnography allowed for the exploration of social justice within the milieu of a specific cultural context. In this light, this ethnographic study sought to understand social justice and teacher education for social justice as they manifested in a physical education teacher education (PETE) program at a historically Black university in a Southern state; a discipline and institution type rarely highlighted within the context of social justice and teacher education research.

Defining Social Justice

Social justice in relation to oppression. Bell, (2007, 2010) stated that social justice is both a process and a goal, whereby the outcome is to have all groups participate equally in society, such that they are able to fulfill their needs. Within this society, individuals would be both self-determining and interdependent, requiring that people be conscious of their agency, but have a sense of responsibility for the world and those around them. M. Adams et al. (2013) further asserted that, to fully understand social justice, an awareness of oppression is necessary. In this example, five distinct features characterized oppression: (a) pervasiveness, such that oppression is deeply entrenched within society; (b) a restrictive nature in the sense that oppression limits opportunities for oppressed groups; (c) hierarchical structuring; (d) complexity in that oppression can take multiple forms while cross-cutting relationships; and (e) internalized. Each characteristic is manifested as a variety of "isms" (i.e., racism, sexism, classism).

Oppression has also been conceptualized as being multidimensional, such that it operates as an interlocked, "multisystem consolidating social power to the benefit of members of privileged groups and is maintained and operationalized in three dimensions, contextual dimension, conscious/unconscious dimension, and applied dimension" (Hardiman, Jackson, & Griffin, 2013, p. 27). The contextual dimension exists on three levels: social/cultural, individual, and institutional. The applied dimension is used to discern how oppression is exhibited at each level (think hierarchical

characterization). In another view of oppression—an interlocking system—Patricia Hill Collins (1991) utilized the "Matrix of Domination" as an alternative to additive models of oppression. Within the matrix, factors such as race and class are significant and recognized as not occurring within a vacuum. These definitions of oppression capture the knotty nature of oppression, making it easy to understand the difficulties of defining or capturing the totality of social justice.

A psychological perspective of social justice. From a psychological perspective, Tyler (2000) suggested that social justice be achieved through the attainment of peace and conflict resolution:

> One clear possible avenue for the peaceful resolution to conflicts is through an understanding of the psychology of social justice. People's views about what is just or fair are a social facilitator through which the interaction among people and groups are enabled. I think of justice as akin to the oil within an engine. It allows the many parts within the engine to interact without the friction that generates heat and leads to breakdown. Similarly, justice allows people and groups to interact without conflict and societal breakdown. Just as a car can suffer mechanical breakdown, social interactions can break down amid conflict and hostility. I will argue that social justice minimizes such breakdowns and contributes to the continuation of productive interactions among people. (p. 117)

Take note that this social justice perspective diverged from others because it failed to unveil underlying oppression or account for historical and cultural backgrounds

of groups and individuals. Tyler further conceptualized two types of (social) justice judgments as distributive and procedural justice. Distributive justice considers whether those in privileged positions are willing to redistribute resources to those without resources. Procedural justice can be summarized as the "fairness" of particular procedural outcomes. For example, an issue of distributive justice occurs when teachers working in a lower socioeconomic status (SES) school district do not make as much as teachers in higher SES districts. Teachers who work in poorer schools typically have fewer resources and more pupils per class. Procedural justice can be applied in the processes or procedures of teacher salary allocation. For example, teacher pay scales may not account for the circumstances in which teachers work.

Social justice in terms of redistribution and recognition.

> In a sense we've come to our nation's capital to cash a check. When the architects of our Republic wrote the magnificent words of the constitution and the declaration of Indepedence, they were signing a promissary note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men—yes, [B]lack men as well as [W]hite men—be guaranteed the unailienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It is obvious today that America has defaulted on the promissory note insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check, a check which has come back marked "insufficient funds."

> But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insuffiecient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. So we've come to cash this check, a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice. (King, 1963)

Perhaps the bad check metaphor used in Dr. King's most highly acclaimed moment, the "I Have A Dream" speech in 1963, makes powerful implications as to how justice—in this case social justice— exists. In his speech, he recognized that America had fallen short of its promise for all people, particularly people of color, to benefit from the wealth of the nation. Clearly, his words intimate the need for a redistribution of justice for those who have received the check marked "insufficient funds."

Redistribution and recognition are two primary conceptualizations used to describe the nature of social justice. However, there are competing notions as to how these two concepts exist—whether they are mutually exclusive or not. In the book *Redistribution or Recognition* (N. Fraser & Honneth, 2003), both authors agreed redistribution and recognition are needed in order to achieve social justice but disagreed on the relationship between the two concepts. Redistribution is economic, focusing on "a more just distribution of resources and wealth" (N. Fraser & Honneth, 2003, p. 1). Redistribution is rooted in Marxist ideas of egalitarianism. Fraser noted that from the folk paradigm of redistribution, injustice is only a manifestation of socioeconomics. In other words, all injustices are the result of society's economic structure. Therefore, the solution for all injustice would be economic restructuring and a redistribution of wealth

and resources. When privileging redistribution over recognition, people are recognized as belonging to specific marginalized groups (e.g., races, genders, etc.), but redistribution is thought of as the sole solution for uplifting these groups. However, it also has been suggested that as a means of garnering economic justice, group difference should not be recognized nor celebrated but rather deconstructed or eliminated (N. Fraser & Honneth, 2003).

Conversely, recognition is about living in "a difference friendly world where assimilation to majority or dominant cultural norm is no longer the price of equal respect" (N. Fraser & Honneth, 2003, p. 1). In the folk paradigm, recognition targets injustice from the perspective of culture, cultural domination, misrepresentation, lack of representation, etc. The remedies for these variations of oppression are cultural symbolic change, appreciating diversity, and respecting cultures. People who are rendered subordinate are grouped based upon how they are oppressed (e.g., race, gender, sexual orientation, etc.), often without consideration of class. From the recognition perspective, differences are viewed as preexisting cultural norms that fit into an unjust hierarchy or as non-preexistent but happening simultaneously in the form of hierarchies (N. Fraser & Honneth, 2003).

With the decline of socialism and communism, recognition became the primary claim for social justice. This was also the result of the proliferation of free market ideology and identity politics. In other words, individuals can be who they want to be, so long as they do not touch the money. Fraser (1997) described this as the post-socialist

condition, whereby those seeking social justice have settled for recognition instead of redistribution. Features of the contemporary post-socialist condition include: (a) the lack of credible alternatives, (b) claims for recognition have overshadowed demands for social equality, and (c) resurgence in economic liberalism resulting in global anti-egalitarianism (globalization).

Social justice can be thought of as the opposite of oppression; as such, it is just as multifaceted and complicated as its antithesis. Because individuals can belong to both privileged and oppressed groups, it is difficult to create successful coalitions. Fraser (1997) explained, "'coalition politics' remains at the level of wishful thinking, moreover, in the absence of sustained, integrative, and holistic attempts to envision social arrangements that could transform the identified and harmonize the interests of diverse, currently fragmented constituencies" (p. 4). In other words, conflict among groups can make finding allies difficult. Allies are "members of advantaged groups who act against the oppression(s) from which they derive power, privilege, and acceptance. Individuals who choose to ally themselves with people who are targeted, but oppression may have different motivations for their actions" (Hardiman et al., 2013, p. 33). However, the reasons individuals choose to be allies may vary; some choose to do so to bolster their personal or group's interest rather than moral benevolence, otherwise known as interest convergence (Bell, 1979; Milner, 2008). For example, Black feminists and White feminists may have common interests as women, while simultaneously having divergent interests along racial lines. The politics of social justice can be

problematic because the attempts of those representing dominant (White feminist) groups may in fact be acts of false generosity towards those who are oppressed (Black feminist) (Freire, 2000). In short, theories of social justice can be summarized in the following way:

> As a conceptual framework, social justice theory recognizes lived experiences, identity politics, and hierarchies of oppression as legitimate sources of knowledge. Moreover, social justice theory allows the combination of theory and practice to create praxis, resulting in the ontological necessity for solutions to injustice. However, in this age of instant communications and globalization, multiple ontologies arise with disagreement over what is just for whom. A single unifying theory of social justice, applicable throughout the world, remains elusive. (Gosztyla, 2011, p. 1372)

A Case for the Study of HBCUs as Institutions of Social Justice

An argument for the presence of social justice within HBCUs reaches further back than antebellum times.

> The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line, the relation of the darker to lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea. It was a phase of this problem that caused the Civil War; and however much they who marched South and North in 1861 may have fixed on the technical points of union and local autonomy as a shibboleth, all never the less knew, as we know, that the question of Negro slavery was the real cause of

> the conflict. Curious it was, too, how this deeper question ever forced itself to the surface despite effort and disclaimer. No sooner had Northern armies touched Southern soil than this old question ever forced itself to the surface despite effort and disclaimer. (DuBois, 1994, p. 9)

As explained by W. E. B. DuBois, in the years following the American Civil War there were many questions about the fate of the newly freed Black population in America. Of course, education would become one of many options in dealing with America's "Negro problem." Those who were rebellious and fortunate during their time in bondage to learn how to read despite their circumstances would become leading Black educators, viewing education as a pathway to liberation and freedom (J. D. Anderson, 1988). Although African Americans viewed education as a means of uplifting an oppressed people, there were several stakeholders known as *White Architects of Black Education* (Watkins, 2001), namely Andrew Carnegie, the Rockefeller family, the Phelps Stokes family, and others who invested in the education of Black Americans for their own interest and that of the nation's (Watkins, 2001). These architects, prominent Black Americans, and a confluence of other factors led to the establishment of what are now known as HBCUs (Watkins, 2001).

Although initially intended primarily for the education of African Americans, HBCUs were not progenitors of racially segregated educational institutions, but the result of policies and ideologies designed to make Black people in America a permanent underclass (Watkins, 2001). One philosophy that perpetuated the establishment and

support of educational institutions for African Americans was that of industrial education. With regard to Black people, industrial education was rooted in the notion that African Americans should continue to be laborers with little to no political power (Washington, 1995). But for Booker T. Washington, the leading Black educator in the era following Reconstruction, industrial education had been established as a means of uplift for Black Americans (Washington, 1995).

HBCUs have a common history, in that they have provided educational opportunities for African Americans in very racially hostile climates (M. C. Brown & Davis, 2001).

> The South's landed upper class tolerated the idea of pauper education as a charity to some poor [W]hite children, but state enforced public education was another matter. The planters [White people in power] believed that state-enforced public education was another matter. The planters believed that state government had no right to intervene in the education of children and, by extension, the larger social arrangement. Active intervention in the social hierarchy through public education violated the natural evolution of society, threatened familial authority over children, upset the reciprocal relations and duties of owners to laborers, and usurped the functions of the church. During the period of 1860 to 1880, other classes of native [W]hite southerners, including small farmers, industrialist and laborers, showed little inclination to challenge the planters on these questions. Indeed, specific economic, political, social, and psychological relationships

> bound southern [W]hites in general to the planter regime. The result was a postwar south that was extremely hostile to the idea of universal public education. The ex-slaves broke sharply with this position. (J. D. Anderson, 1988, p. 4)

Ironically, if not for the formerly enslaved African Americans' desire to be educated, universal education in the South would have been non-existent (J. D. Anderson, 1988). Seeking to establish themselves as newly freed men and women, African Americans were the greatest advocates of education for all. Ultimately, the establishment of universal public education would become a reality not just for Black Americans but for Southern Whites as well. If Black Americans were to receive a free and public education, Whites were entitled to the same if not better, which was the prevailing belief at this time. This was the result of intersecting interests in the midst of a milieu of classism and racism. In order to maintain the dominant White power structure it was necessary to provide educational structure for poor Whites so that they could maintain a sense of dominance over the Black population. Commenting on the complexities of the ideological terrain surrounding the advent of universal education, Anderson (1988) explained the following:

> In some respects, the turn of the century educational movement also challenge the planters on ideological terrain, but its implication for political and economic changes were far less threatening than those contained in the educational campaigns of the ex-slaves and [W]hite small farmers. The new school

reformers' central task was to convince the planters that particular forms of education could produce more productive and contented agricultural work force and allay suspicion among industrialists that universal schooling would increase competition between [W]hites and [B]lacks for the better urban working-class jobs. The reformers who believed that rudimentary schooling could help upgrade [B]lack labor productivity while preparing blacks for racially prescribed social roles threw their influence behind the Hampton-Tuskegee Idea. In particular, they sought to build a universal public education system because they believed that such a system would improve deportment, the health, the morals, and the efficiency of the region's workers and would socialize the young to disciplines and values needed to maintain proper race relations. In 1889, at the Capon Springs, West Virginia, conference that launched the southern education movement, northern philanthropist William H. Baldwin expressed succinctly this ideology of industrial training for a racially qualified form of class subordination. (p. 82)

There was fear that:

…exclusive concern for [B]lack schools would alienate the [W]hite South, and so they promoted universal public education—for [W]hites and [B]lacks–and consoled themselves with the belief that the education of [W]hite youths was the shortest road to the education "of one untaught [W]hite man to the point that

knowledge and not prejudice would guide his conduct…is worth more to the [B]lack man himself than the education of ten negroes." (Wolters, 1975, p. 14)

The politics behind the establishment of Black educational institutions has been a vital part of expanding the reach of education. Ironically, while African Americans showed unwavering support for the expansion of education, it was the more privileged Whites that were the beneficiaries of the first Morrill Act of 1862—instituting the induction of publicly funded land grant institutions throughout the United States (Payne, 2013). It was not until the passing of the second Morrill Act in 1890 that African Americans and other ethnic minorities received public institutions dedicated to their education (Payne, 2013). In the contemporary era, HBCUs remain true to their original mission of uplift for African Americans (M. C. Brown & Davis, 2001; Nelms, 2010; Reddick, 2006; Willie, Reddick, & Brown, 2006), but are also known for providing educational opportunities to students who are not Black. Keeping up with the times, HBCUs have made efforts to educate an ever-increasingly diverse population of students (Willie et al., 2006).

In the book, *The Black College Mystique* (2006), Willie, Reddick, and Brown disclosed five unrecognized truths about Black Colleges: (a) Black colleges are not just for Black students; (b) HBCUs have the most diversified faculty and staff among all institutions of higher education; (c) there is a strong belief within HBCUs that a college is only as good as its faculty; (e) Black colleges have a twofold mission dedicated to individual and group enhancement; and (e) HBCUs are an important part of the higher

education mainstream. In another description of HBCUs, M. Christopher Brown and James Earl Davis (2001) stated the following:

> First, we posit that Black colleges enjoy a unique social contract in the national history. HBCUs act as "social agencies" for society by fulfilling the need to provide an equal educational opportunity and attainment, not only for African Americans, but for all students. Second, this social contract that HBCUs broker between the nation and African Americans is realized through social capital or the distribution and reproduction of social networks and resources that HBCUs provide for their students and graduates. Finally, we argue that Black colleges act as a "social equalizer" for individuals historically denied access to higher educational opportunity and excluded from full participation in society. (p. 33)

Others viewed the goals of HBCUs as meant to: (a) reflect the Black community by being responsible for maintaining Black cultural and historical traditions; (b) establish key leadership for the Black community in the form of college administrators, scholars, and students; (c) function as economic centers with the Black community; (d) develop Black role models to interpret the ways in which social, political, and economic dynamics impact Black people; (e) prepare college graduates who are able to address tensions between minorities and majority populations; and (f) produce Black agents for specialized research, institutional training, and the dissemination of information throughout the Black and minorities communities in a culturally relevant manner (Allen, 1992; Brown & Davis, 2001).

Given the goals mentioned above, HBCUs have been educational incubators for individuals who became leaders dedicated to social justice. Well-known figures such as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (Morehouse College), Rosa Parks (Alabama State), Medgar Evers (Alcorn State University), and others have all been products of HBCUs (Carson, 1998; Schraff, 2005; M. V. Williams, 2011). This legacy of social justice remains true within PETE and athletics at HBCUs (Hodge, Bennett, & Collins, 2013; Hodge, Collins, & Bennett, 2013). A limited amount of scholarship has been dedicated to individuals who are products of HBCUs in the realms of sport and physical education. For example, Edwin Bancroft Henderson, a Howard University graduate, was known for introducing basketball to African Americans in Washington D.C. Henderson was a physical educator, civil rights activist, and chronicler of African American athletes. Dr. Leroy T. Walker, a graduate of Benedict College, another bastion of social justice, was critical in the diversification of leadership within the American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, Recreation, and Dance (AAHPERD)— now known as the Society of Health and Physical Educators (SHAPE) of America. He became the first African American president of the organization in 1977 (Wiggins & Wiggins, 2011). Later, he also became the first African American president of the United States Olympic Committee (Gaddy, 1998; Wiggins & Wiggins, 2011). Lavonia Allison, professor at North Carolina Central University was a lifelong advocate for civil rights and would mentor the first African American woman president of AAHPERD, Doris Corbett (Wiggins & Wiggins, 2011). The impact of these social justice forerunners has set the stage for the continued

influence of HBCUs within AAHPERD. Given their history, alumni, mission, and evolution, it cannot be disputed that HBCUs have been vehicles for social justice long before it became an academic catchphrase or a widely used, or misused, term.

A Case for the Study of Social Justice within Physical Education/ Physical Education Teacher Education

The average American does not engage in adequate amounts of physical activity. As such, the prevalence of obesity and related health conditions has increased over the years ((An, 2014; Flegal, Carroll, Ogden, & Johnson, 2002). Students in public schools engage in less physical activity, have poorer eating habits, and are more likely to be obese or overweight than those of a generation ago. It is not surprising that these disparaging facts are compounded in impoverished communities where the inhabitants are mostly people of color (Drewnowski & Darmon, 2005). The lack of quality physical education in schools that service poorer communities has been framed as an issue concerning social justice (Lee & Cubbin, 2009). Further, there has been evidence to support the following: (a) the highest rates of obesity occur in the populations with highest rates of poverty and the least education; (b) foods that are energy dense and composed of refined grains, added sugar, and fats are likely the cheapest food options; and (c) poverty is associated with less money being spent on food as well as fewer fruits and vegetables being consumed (Drewnowski & Specter, 2004). With regard to physical activity, individuals within communities with higher socioeconomic statuses are more likely to have access to facilities that promote such activity. In contrast, individuals

living in low socioeconomic minority communities have less access to such facilities, which is associated with lower physical activity levels and an in increased overweight individuals (Gordon-Larsen, Nelson, & Popkin, 2006). If the goal of physical education is to build knowledge, skills, and dispositions that can lead to physically active habits throughout an individual's lifespan, professionals within the field must consider how physical education and PETE can meet the needs of communities in constant privation.

Teacher education demographics. The current pipeline of teacher educators is largely monolithic (Zeichner, 2003, 2009). The majority White-middle class, female, monolingual teaching population is not reflective of the growing diversity within the United States (National Center for Education Statistics, n.d.). In 2011, for the first time since colonization, more babies who were not White were born than babies who were White in the United States (US Census Bureau, 2012). It is projected that by the year 2050, the country's population will be mostly people of color (US Census Bureau, 2008). While efforts to recruit and retain teachers of color have been initiated in some states (Tennessee State Board of Education, 2005), there is a relative lack of teachers of color as compared to the expected explosion of diversity within American schools (Boser & Center for American Progress, 2011). Unfortunately, physical education and PETE are not immune to this teacher pipeline crisis. Scholars have insisted that there is a need for diversity among professionals in the field (Crase & Walker, 1988a; Hodge & Wiggins, 2010; Webb & Hodge, 2003). One benefit of a more diverse teaching pipeline within physical education, is that teachers gain greater multicultural competence,

allowing them to become effective teachers with diverse populations of students (Harrison, Carson, & Burden, 2010). In the same vein, it has been shown that cross-racial encounters among PETE pre-service teachers can dispel colorblind ideologies (Burden, 2011).

Statement of the Problem

> In the movement to diversify higher education in America, HBCUs are the bearers of an important legacy. In struggling to survive under difficult circumstances, HBCUs have managed to offer opportunities for self-actualization and social mobility to all who sought them while teaching racial tolerance and producing alumni who have distinguished themselves as tireless workers for cross-cultural understanding and social justice. Given their noble history in this regard, it seems ironic that they should be largely absent from current debates on multiculturalism and diversity in higher education. By rights, they should occupy a leading position in such discussions, offering the insight that they have gained from their past and reliving those lessons as they contemplate their present and future—one in which HBCUs should consider themselves uniquely called upon to provide leadership and to make important contributions in the ongoing quest for a truly inclusive society. This is particularly so in the field of higher education, where in recent years, decisions being made about institutional access and the importance of diversity have negatively affected the educational

opportunities and futures of African Americans and other minorities. (Jewell, 2002, pp. 7-8)

The history of HBCUs is one that is rooted in the training of teachers who would be the backbone of racial uplift for African Americans (J. W. Fraser, 2007; Washington, 2010). Even in the contemporary era, HBCUs are the top producers of Black teachers in the nation (Castenell & Tarule, 1997). Yet, very little attention has been given to these institutions with regard to teacher preparation or teaching for social justice. Likewise, little has been written regarding teaching for social justice in PETE. Scholarship that does exist highlighted only faculty experiences (Burden et al., 2012; Burden, Hodge, O'Bryant, & Harrison, 2004; Harrison et al., 2010) and did not highlight those of PETE students in programs that were not predominantly White, thereby limiting our understanding of the social justice pedagogical possibilities that can take place in the preparation of physical education teachers.

Critiques of Social Justice in Teacher Education

Although some argue that a substantive body of literature about Black teachers exists throughout education (Cooper, 2003), the preparation of teachers of color has been virtually ignored with regard to social justice. Overall, there is a scarcity of literature pertaining to Black teachers and other teachers of color within physical education (Crase & Walker, 1988b). However, Collins, (2011) found that African American and female physical education teachers had a greater understanding and value

of the usage of culturally relevant pedagogy (CRP) when teaching African American males than their White counterparts.

The irony of teaching for social justice is that, along with similar definitions, it has been defined as "an umbrella term to cover projects that differ in their focus (e.g., culturally relevant pedagogy, antiracist pedagogy, intercultural teaching) but share the common aim of preparing teachers to recognize, name, and combat inequity in schools and society" (Spalding, Klecka, Lin, Odell, & Wang, 2010, p. 191). Yet there is a wide gap between theory and reality; for example the ever-present achievement gap is framed by Ladson-Billings (2006) as educational debt. Additionally, current literature does not highlight or authentically recognize the potential for a diverse teaching force. Rarely does the literature highlight the usage, teaching, or modeling of social justice pedagogies for teacher education of students of diverse backgrounds. This is problematic because the recruitment, retention, and preparation of preservice (physical education) teachers of color remain largely invisible. The gospel of preparing predominantly White middle class females for diverse students remains a staple within teacher education for social justice. In her description of the relationship between teacher education for social justice and the universality of teaching for social justice, Cochran-Smith (2009) agreed:

> …[T]eacher education for social justice is for all teacher candidates—not only for monolingual, middle class White teachers who are preparing to teach those who are not like them and not only for teachers (whatever their own racial, cultural or linguistic backgrounds) preparing to teach in urban or other schools

> where the pupils are poor or minority and where disparities in resources and achievement are large. This premise about teacher education for social justice depends on its corollary about teaching for social justice: teaching for social justice is for all pupils, not only those who are poor, minority, or historically disadvantaged by the system but also those whom the system advantages. (p. 5)

Because of the deep pervasive and systematic way oppression and inequity manifest in society, it is appropriate to conceptualize teaching for social justice as a universal need. Likewise, for the same reason it should be acknowledged that although teaching and teacher education for social justice should be universal, they should not be universal in their approach. In others words, current definitions acknowledge that social justice is needed in a variety of educational contexts, but these definitions are not clearly acknowledging that social justice should not be the same in all context. The greatest shortfall pertaining to current definitions, frameworks, and conceptualizations is the lack of context given to how social justice is or should be manifested.

Much of the literature surrounding teaching for social justice was built on the premise that the majority of teachers are and will be White, middle class, and female (Dixson & Dingus, 2007; Juarez, Smith, & Hayes, 2008; Ladson-Billings, 1995b). Essentially, there are very few scholarly products that emphasized teacher education for social justice where people of color are highlighted in the role of preservice teachers. Limiting the scope of scholarship on teaching for social justice as one mainly preparing teachers from a single demographic to teach an ever increasingly diverse student

population. This has led to an overemphasis on the preparation of majority White teachers and not those of color. Further, the overemphasis on the preparation of the most privileged individuals as teachers reinscribes notions of helpless ethnic minorities (Saltmarsh, 2011; Trier, 2001), under appreciating and not accounting for the efforts of those who are preparing teachers of color. By only shedding light on the training of a White middle class female teaching force, current use of teaching for social justice undermines the potential for a diverse teaching force. This study offers a different perspective to the study of social justice within education. First, it pays particular attention to the manifestation of social justice within an educational institution that is not historically White. As a result, it highlights the experiences of teacher educators of color who a preparing future educators of color. Lastly, this study pays particular attention to how social justice and teaching for social justice manifested within the culture of a PETE program.

Justification for Research

HBCUs are in the midst of a dichotomous identity crisis. Although part of the discourse surrounding these institutions suggest that they have become obsolete (Jencks & Riesman, 1967; Riley, 2010), there is another discourse boasting that these institutions are at the dawn of a renaissance (M. C. Brown, Davis, & McClendon, 1999; Nelms, 2010). Likewise, PETE is also in the midst of changes. Throughout the country, many programs have discontinued or consolidated into 5-year Master's in the Art of Teaching programs. The discontinuance of these programs occurs at a time when many Americans

and their children continue to lead sedentary lifestyles and incur preventable diseases associated with such lifestyles. There is very little consensus on the type of curriculum that is most appropriate for these programs (Ward, Parker, Sutherland, & Sinclair, 2011). Additionally, the supply of PETE professionals rarely meets the demand (Boyce & Rikard, 2011). The unsettling position of PETE would lead one to believe that like HBCUs, PETE is also in need of a renaissance (Nelms, 2010). Perhaps for no other reason, this study is justified because many PETE doctoral granting programs do not engage in the study of (physical education) teacher education (Ward et al., 2011). Very little is known about the culture of PETE and the tacit manner social justice is or is not existent. Coupled with the overall lack of knowledge about the day-to-day events within PETE programs (McKenzie & Lounsbery, 2009), an ethnographic examination of an ethnically diverse PETE program located within a HBCU is relevant given the contradiction of the perceived irrelevance of both physical education and HBCUs.

Given the contemporary conditions that both PETE and HBCUs exist within, the following study was based on several premises. First, there is a continuing need for both PETE programs and HBCUs nationwide (Reddick, 2006; Willie et al., 2006). In light of this need, there is great reason to study PETE programs within HBCUs. Although there is some research regarding the preparation of teachers of color, much has been centered on those who are in programs at predominantly White institutions (PWI). Furthermore, there are very few studies within PETE that have emphasized PETE for social justice, let

alone the preparation of preservice physical educators of color (Burden et al., 2012; Crase & Walker, 1988b; Quarterman, Chew, & Harris, 1996).

Guiding Questions

Given that there is limited knowledge regarding the preparation of teachers of color, the lack of attention given to social justice within PETE, and lack of emphasis on the preparation of PETE majors within HBCUs, the guiding questions for this study were as follows:

1. How is social justice manifested within the culture of an HBCU's PETE program?
2. How is teacher education for social justice manifested within the culture of an HBCU physical education teacher education program?

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Teacher Education for Social Justice

There have been many attempts to define teacher education for social justice, with very little consensus on the definition or application (Cochran-Smith, 2009; Zeichner, 2009). I have argued that the dissenting nature of social justice in teacher education is perhaps as much a tenet of social justice as any other. When considering teacher education for social justice, it should be understood that because teacher education was designed to prepare teachers, there is a logical overlap between how social justice is manifested within every instantiation of education. In other words, the curricula and pedagogies seen in K-12 schooling are related to that which has been taught in teacher education.

Teaching for social justice has been defined as "an umbrella term to cover projects that differ in their focus (e.g., culturally relevant pedagogy, antiracist pedagogy, intercultural teaching) but share the common aim of preparing teachers to recognize, name, and combat inequity in schools and society" (Spalding et al., 2010, p. 191). In her description of teacher education for social justice, Cochran-Smith (2009) utilized four major premises. First, teacher education with an emphasis on social justice is more than methods, but is a coherent and intellectual approach to the preparation of teachers that acknowledges the social and political contexts in which teaching, learning, schooling and ideas about justice have been located historically while acknowledging the tensions among competing goals for education. Second, teaching and teacher education are not

apolitical endeavors. Third, the preparation of teachers is a place where educational change can be instantiated. Fourth, teacher education for social justice is intended for all teacher education students. Other definitions include the notion that teachers, in this case teacher educators, recognize that preservice teachers are agents of social change, not mere instruments (W. Ayers, Quinn, & Stovall, 2008). William Ayers, Jean Ann Hunt, and Therese Quinn (1998) described teaching for social justice as:

> …teaching that arouses students, engages them in a quest to identify obstacles to their full humanity, to their freedom and then drive, to move against those obstacles. And so the fundamental message of the teacher for social justice is: You can change the world. (p. xvii)

Furthermore theoretically and practically, Teaching for social justice (TSJ) also requires that those involved within the educational process examine and uncover privilege (Griffin & Jackson, 2011; Jackson & Solís, 1995; McIntosh, 1988; Nurenberg, 2011). Although the definitions of social justice are varied, many are similar. In meeting the goals of social justice in education, there are a variety of theoretical foundations (tenets); these foundations include social reconstruction, democracy in education, culturally responsive/relevant teaching, Critical Race theory, multicultural education, and feminist notions of social justice (Banks, 1993b; Gay, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 1995b; Liggett, 2011).

Critical Pedagogy

Critical pedagogy is an important tenet of social justice in education operating as an important first step toward enacting social justice principals within the classroom. As such, critical pedagogy is an important tool in teacher education for social justice. Through critical pedagogy, teachers engage students in ways that allow them to understand and critique power dynamics within education and throughout society. An example of critical pedagogy is captured in Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (2000). In it, Freire explained a process of conscientization where a development of an awareness of social domination and one's location in it is central to the education of students. Students are also expected to engage in praxis, a reflective social and political intervention against oppression. Unfortunately, critical pedagogy is seen as a step not taken far enough. A lack of recognition regarding, race, ethnicity, and culture led to the development of educational theories and practices that account for these factors.

Multicultural Education

Multicultural education (MCE) was conceptualized as a broad interdisciplinary field that focuses on a range of racial, ethnic, cultural groups, and gender issues (Banks, 1992). It has also been described as an attempt to promote social reconstruction (Stuhr, 1994), which is consistent with other definitions of teaching for social justice. As a form of curricular reform it first appeared in the 1960s and 70s (Banks, 1993), but has origins that go back much further. Multicultural education was the result of a long struggle for representation, recognition, and against the misrepresentation of diverse groups within

the school curriculum (Zimmerman, 2005). The development of multicultural education can be broken down into several phases: (a) ethnic studies, (b) multiethnic education, (c) the search for recognition, and (d) last phase, consisting of theory development, research, and practices pertaining to the interrelated variables of race, class, and gender (Banks, 1993a, 1993b; Grant & Sleeter, 1986). Of all theoretical or conceptual frameworks for social justice, multicultural education has been the most scrutinized for its uncritical nature. Ironically, conservative scholars are dismayed with MCE, claiming that it can cause schisms and discord within the country (Schlesinger, 1998). Other concerns for conservatives are that multicultural education was exclusively for the "other" and oppositional to Western traditions (Banks, 1993). In response to this criticism Banks (1993) asserted, MCE was designed for all students with the intent of unification in a diverse society. Further, he proclaimed that although MCE has postmodern roots, its Western tradition should not be ignored.

While conservative critiques of MCE are just as strong, they contrast with those of scholars on the left who criticize multicultural education for its susceptibility to cooption and lack of critical orientation. Critical scholars tend to believe that, "not all versions and understandings of multiculturalism challenge the dominant power and knowledge structures that tend to create socio-cultural inequities" (Stuhr, 1994, p. 171). However, these scholars are thought of as being out of touch with the realities that teachers and students face in k-12 educational settings (Banks, 1992).

Critical Multicultural Education

Those on the far left who have initiated critiques of MCE have laid the groundwork for the evolution of critical multicultural education. Although multicultural education's intentions are rooted in a transformative agenda, there is a belief that it does not go far enough. Perhaps the reason why scholars on the left have criticized MCE is not merely its lack in critical orientation, but rather an acknowledgement of the mollification of progressive agendas in conservative hands. Critical multiculturalists believe that "when multicultural education is framed around learning about 'other' cultures displacing stereotypes, the larger structural issues are ignored. Studying 'other' cultures and addressing stereotypes, or studying culture itself without examining structural inequality, gives the illusion of doing something constructive" (Sleeter, 1995, p. 91).

> Critical MCE has been described as a field where:
>
> Racism, oppression, and democratic principles are a central focus. In this conceptualization, race acts as a foundation for the study of educational inequality and social justice and that the ways in which race, class, and gender have come to be defined are "a result of larger social struggles over signs and meanings and in this way emphasize…the central task of transforming the social, cultural, and institutional relations in which meanings are generated" (McLaren, 1995b, p. 42). (Wiedeman, 2002, p. 202)

Simply put, CME is a critical scholars approach to the shortcomings of multicultural education. Transformation, in the critical multicultural paradigm is rooted in social reconstruction rather the additive tradition of MCE

Multicultural education in teacher education. In its practical application within teacher education, multicultural education can be divided into three foci: (a) institutional and programmatic reform, (b) staff and students, and (c) issues surrounding curriculum and instruction within teacher education programs. Within the first area, teacher education should be programs within larger university communities that are reflective of multicultural principles (i.e., commitment to diversity). Universities should demonstrate a commitment to teacher education programs that support multicultural education such that they become functioning examples of multiculturalism (Zeichner et al., 1998). Admission into teacher education programs should reflect multiculturalism and high academic standards. Regardless of student demographics, in order for such programs to be successful faculty and staff should be competent in multicultural education.

Culturally Relevant Pedagogy and Responsive Teaching

Two prominent social justice pedagogies are culturally relevant pedagogy (CRP), rooted in black feminist thought (Ladson-Billings, 1995a), and culturally responsive teaching (CRT), rooted in the multicultural education movement of the 1970s (Gay, 2010). The two pedagogies are so similar that they are utilized interchangeably, in spite of their different theoretical backgrounds. Culturally responsive teaching was described

as being validating, comprehensive, multidimensional, empowering, transformative and emancipatory (Gay, 2010). With an original emphasis on the teaching of African American students CRP has been linked to cultural nationalism (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). One theory of CRP developed out of an ethnography conducted by Gloria Ladson-Billings (1995b) whereby she investigated the pedagogy of good teachers of African American children. Not surprisingly, the study took place in a school where most the children were Black and acknowledged the researcher's invested interest in the education of African American children as an African American woman, hence the connection with Black cultural nationalism. CRP rests on three propositions, which can also be applied to culturally responsive teaching: (a) students must achieve academic success; (b) students must develop or maintain cultural competence; and (c) the development critical consciousness (Ladson-Billings, 1995a). Each of these pedagogies seek to make students informed actors in their communities as means of enacting change.

While there may be no consensus on how social justice within teacher education should be defined or theorized, it is clear that the majority of research pertaining to social justice has emanated from scholars within predominantly (historically) White institutions. Thus, even though these scholars have written about the need to address diversity within schools and teacher education (Zeichner, 2009; Zeichner, 2003), many have made their careers teaching at universities or teacher education programs with

relatively few students of color. These scholars and teacher educators are teaching to the majority, those who are more likely to come from relatively privilege backgrounds.

Care

Like culturally relevant pedagogy, care has also been framed within the discourse of social justice and education. Nell Noddings (1992) suggested:

> When we discuss teaching and the teacher-learner relationships in depth, we will see that teachers not only have to create caring relations in which they are the carers, but that they also have a responsibility to help their students develop the capacity to care. (p. 18)

Care is thought of as being a reciprocal relationship whereby carers and the cared for have mutual understandings of care. That is to say, students can readily acknowledge that teacher care for them while teachers also acknowledge that they care for students. In essence, teachers must care for student and teach students how to care (Noddings, 2013).

In addition to traditional notions of care, critical caring has been conceptualized as means of dispelling the colorblind ideology of preservice teachers while simultaneously attempting to extinguish stereotypical notions allocated to minority populations. In other words, there are culturally relevant means of enacting care in the classroom (Garza, 2009).

More specific critiques of care in the classroom suggest that not accounting for ethic and racial identities of students can lead to soft caring. Soft caring occurs when educators feel sorry for students and their circumstances, leading to lowered

expectations (Antrop-González & De Jesús, 2006). On the contrary, a more socially just form of caring—hard caring—is just the opposite. Teachers who practice hard caring maintain high expectations for students despite their circumstances (Antrop-González & De Jesús, 2006).

Care as othermothering and otherfathering. Care can also manifest itself in the form of othermothering and otherfathering. According to Patricia Hill Collins (2000), Othermothering is a mothering relationship whereby a community of mothers play a role in the rearing of children. Having its roots in slavery, Othermothering in the African American community represents:

> Black women's feeling's of responsibility for nurturing the children in their own extended family networks have stimulated a more generalized ethic of care where Black women feel accountable to all the Black community's children.
>
> This notion of Black women as community Othermothers for all Black children traditionally allowed Black women to treat biologically unrelated children as if they were members of their own families. (Hill Collins, 1997, p. 331)

Scholarship has shown that the practice of othermothering is present within the culture of HBCUs (Hirt, Amelink, McFeeters, & Strayhorn, 2008).

Similar to othermothering, otherfathering is a form of surrogate fatherhood within the African American community. In educational settings, Black men have been seen as playing the role of father in the classroom (Brockenbrough, 2014). In this

capacity Black males have been seen stereotyped as disciplinarians but actually occupy roles that are more complex within the classroom (A. L. Brown, 2009). For the purpose of this study, both othermothering and otherfathering are framed as culturally relevant and socially just approaches to educating within an HBCU (Hirt et al., 2008).

Social Justice for Future White Educators

Dixson and Dingus (2007) referred to their responsibility as teacher educators of color having to teach predominantly White students as an extension of the tyranny of the majority. They apply the notion of the tyranny of the majority from Lani Guinier (1994) whereby she postulated that ethnic minorities are left out of the democratic process by the zero sum outcomes of majority rule.

> Although we endeavor to de-center Whiteness, in essence, our readings, classroom activities, discussions and assignments may, in fact, only serve to re-center Whiteness. In other words, given the current political climate that conflates political correctness with ignoring and dismissing the experiences and voices of people of color, we are concerned about the extent to which we unconsciously contribute to this silencing by focusing our courses on convincing White students that issues related to multiculturalism, equity, and diversity are "important" and "real." Within the context of preparing teachers to teach for democracy, diversity, equity, multiculturalism, and social justice, how productive and effective is our work and the enterprise of the field, if we spend most of our

> energies on convincing our students that inequity, race, and racism are real? (Dixson & Dingus, 2007, p. 641)

Dixson and Dingus (2007) pointed out the irony of their roles as teacher educators who are instructors of multicultural education classes for mostly, but not exclusively, White students.

> Specifically, we see a particular irony with regard to the tensions of preparing a mostly White teaching force to work with all children within the context of courses on multicultural education and equity and diversity, especially when professors of color are, in many cases, the only people who teach these courses. (Dixson & Dingus, 2007, p. 641)

Perhaps an even greater irony was that social justice teacher education has been framed as democracy in education (Dewey, 1916). For example, according to David Keiser Lee (2013) public school education in the United States has traditionally served four purposes:

1. Preparing students to be active, involved participants in democracy.
2. Preparing students to have access to knowledge and critical thinking within the disciplines.
3. Preparing students to lead rich and rewarding personal lives, and to be responsible and responsive community members.
4. Preparing students to assume their highest possible place in the economy. (p. xviii)

In short, a democratic principle of social justice in education and teacher education is that everyone has the opportunity to participate in the educational process. Yet, people of color are not equitably represented within the teaching force designed to serve them.

Tyranny of the majority. For the purposes of justifying the need for this study, I would like to extend the idea that teacher education for social justice is largely a manifestation of what is know as tyranny of the majority. Included in the tyrannical majority are those institutions with the most privilege. Many PWIs have the privilege of defining social justice and therefore assume the majority of recognition for teacher education for social justice. The problem with teacher education for social justice is that it has been designed and disseminated for the usage of teacher educators within research institutions that are predominantly White. Scholars at the most privileged and least diverse institutions have made careers promoting social justice. Rather than highlighting the manifestations of social justice within institutions that have deeply rooted histories in social justice, scholars have chosen to highlight attempts to enact social justice and teacher education for social justice within institutions that do not share the same history. The tyranny of the majority represents a paradox within teacher education whereby the focal point of social justice teacher education is the preparation of a monolithic teaching force (Guinier, 1994; Juarez et al., 2008). Nevertheless, social justice cannot be separated from the longstanding history, ontology, epistemology, and identity of the institutions from which it is produced.

To gain a better understanding of this one must be aware that epistemologies and ontologies cannot be separated (Swartz, 2009). For example, the way of being or ontology of historically White universities/PWIs does not align with borderland or double consciousness epistemologies purported by Gloria Anzaldúa (1987) or W. E. B. DuBois (1994) because they are not situated physically, historically, or socially within the margin. However, there are scholars representing historically marginalized people groups who position themselves within the margin even if they do not work in marginalized institutions (Ladson-Billings, 2000b). Essentially, these scholars have made careers preaching, teaching, researching, and writing social justice while many teacher education students of color, teacher educators of color, and minority serving institutions, including HBCUs, remain obscure and unrecognized (Jewell, 2002). Ironically, teacher educators within large PWIs are least likely to do the greatest amount of teacher educating at the undergraduate level, due to their relatively light teaching load, yet produce the majority of knowledge regarding teacher education for social justice.

Taken from another perspective, the tyranny was exemplified in how students of color are silenced within multicultural education classrooms (Amos, 2010). “In a predominantly White classroom on a predominantly White campus, students of color are forced to learn when to fight and when not to in order to avoid any unnecessary conflict and arguments with White students” (Amos, 2010, p. 35). This tyrannical paradox can be taken a step further to mean that those who are most likely to write and research

about diversity and social justice are representatives of the majority by virtue of their affiliation with PWIs. In other words, the tyranny of the majority functions as a form hegemony, while social justice scholars and teacher educators may work toward social justice from within large research based PWIs, their efforts also serve to maintain the superior status of these institutions.

Juarez, Smith, and Hayes (2008) critiqued social justice within teacher education as meaning "just us White people." "Indeed, the paradox of the nation's teacher preparation programs is that everything is about diversity and social justice in the preparation of teachers and, simultaneously, nothing is about diversity and social justice in the preparation of teachers" (p. 20). This statement was made regarding the context of what was perceived to be teacher education, a White world whereby the preparation of future teachers for diversity and social justice is for White people. The status quo of teacher education is responsiveness to Whiteness and not the accommodation of cultural diversity.

Teacher Education for Social Justice Students of Color

Much of the literature pertaining to the infusion of social justice and diversity within teacher education has detailed the struggles of teacher educators in their attempts to teach resistant White teacher education students (Ahlquist, 1991; Dixson & Dingus, 2007). Under the dominant narrative that minority-teacher education candidates are non-existent, the research pertaining to the experiences of students of color within teacher education is rarely highlighted. The irony of social justice teacher education is that it is

supposedly concerned with issues of diversity and multiculturalism, yet caters to an audience that is not. For example, not only is there a paucity of teacher education students of color there are also relatively few teacher educators of color, this further complicates the nature of the diversity paradox of social justice.

I am not suggesting that all teacher educators at predominantly White research institutions intentionally keep students of color out of their teacher education programs, but rather that there are structural issues that keep these students from entering and matriculating through teacher education programs. For example, changes in the high stakes testing requirements and initial entry into teacher education programs have helped to limit the number of teacher education students able to matriculate through various programs (Bennett, McWhorter, & Kuykendall, 2006). From a historical perspective, the dearth of teachers of color can be traced to the negative ramifications of school integration, whereby many Black educators and administrators were replaced by White counterparts (D. A. J. Bell, 1979; Ethridge, 1979).

Stereotype threat and the recurring narrative of failure among people of color on standardized tests undermines and discourages potential candidates of color (Flippo, 2000). It is no wonder that teacher preparation is insufficient in its efforts to meet the needs of students present-day classrooms (Darling-Hammond & Berry, 1999). Teacher education programs also face the challenge of having to attract ethnic minority candidates in light of fierce competition from other majors (D K Wiggins, 1999). This is compounded by family pressure put on these students to enter a profession with more

prestige (Szecsi & Spillman, 2012). Others have suggested that the lack of ethnic minorities within teacher education is representative of larger educational pipeline issues that begin well before admission into college (Bianco, Leech, & Mitchell, 2011; McNeal & Lawrence, 2009). In spite of this, many efforts have been made to recruit underrepresented populations into teacher education programs.

Even though it is evident that many potential teachers of color are left out of the professional pipeline, often ignored are the experiences of the students who are within the pipeline.

> In other words, students of color are already silenced to some extent as soon as they physically step onto a predominantly White campus or into a predominantly White classroom, even before they are silenced by the overwhelming silencing power of White discourse. (Amos, 2010, p. 36)

Similar to the programs facilitating teacher recruitment at the K-12 level, the experiences of ethnic minorities within undergraduate and graduate programs designed to facilitate social justice and diversity have produced settings where the experiences of these preservice teachers can be documented. For example, in a case study of such a program, Ladson-Billings (2001) quoted an African American graduate student enrolled in a program designed to teach for diversity:

> I was like oh, Teach for Diversity, it's going to be a lot of African American and Hispanic people, you know, just a lot of minority people in the program, and the first day I walked into the room and I was the sole…I mean because Maya

> wasn't there yet and Jamal wasn't there yet…There are only two other African American people in the program. (p. 36)

In this instance, the meaning of diversity within teacher education is presence of only one ethnic minority or very few. Mentioned earlier, in circumstances where teacher education students of color are not in the majority they are overshadowed by their White counterparts (Amos, 2010; Szecsi & Spillman, 2012). As a result, it has been suggested that three types of support are needed, academic, financial, and social (Szecsi & Spillman, 2012).

Overall there are studies that detail the experiences of teacher education students who are ethnic minorities, but there is insufficient attention given to those future teachers who represent an often unacknowledged demographic. Social justice in teacher education has become a term of exclusivity where teacher education students of color become marginalized anomalies that are highly valued on the job market, but remain obscure in the dominant social justice literature.

Physical Education Teacher Education

Brief history of PETE. The history of physical education teacher education is relatively short in comparison to other academic fields (Rikard et al., 2011). In order to have greater understanding of the preparation of teachers within physical education it is important to consider the historical origins of the field. Within American schools physical education has been taught since the 1800s (Bain, 1990b), since then physical education within higher education and K-12 schooling has gone through several periods

of change. Early in the existence of physical education, major emphasis was on the teaching of gymnastics, which eventually evolved into a focus on sport and an education through the physical philosophy (Swanson & Spears, 1995).

In the years separating the world wars, there was a dramatic growth in the amount of children participating in physical education, coinciding with a growth in American public education. This boom in education at all levels led to the need for more and higher qualified teachers throughout education. The original normal schools where the preparation of physical education teachers took place expanded from 1 to 3 into 4-year institutions. The increased development of physical education within the university setting eventually led to the creation of graduate programs and new research interests (Swanson & Spears, 1995).

Title IX. The most recognized social justice moment within physical education teacher education has undoubtedly been the advent of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, 20 U.S.C. §1681 et seq (Title IX). Until the passage of Title IX in the 1970s most physical education programs were segregated by gender. During the time of gender segregation, programs were distinguished by inequality and stereotypic notions about the preparation of genders in relation to athletics (Swanson & Spears, 1995). In PETE, this led to the combining of programs at highly recognized universities such as The Ohio State University, The University of Nebraska, The University of Georgia, and others. Unfortunately, Title IX was not a panacea for all issues concerning gender, as many persist even to this day. However, long before Title IX, in 1931 Mabel

Lee became the first woman president of the American Physical Education Association, one year after its establishment (Swanson & Spears, 1995).

It would not be difficult to argue that physical education has been relatively progressive given that a (White) woman, Mabel Lee, was president of AAHPERD early in its existence. However, also in earlier eras of AAHPERD, African Americans and other people of color were not permitted to participate (Wiggins & Wiggins, 2011). Figures who fought against the discrimination and exclusion of ethnic minorities in physical education and sport organizations, like E. B. Henderson and others, have remained invisible in the physical lexicon (Wiggins, 1999). By this, I mean that these individuals have made significant contributions to physical education and sport, but do not receive the recognition they deserve.

Theoretical Underpinnings of PETE Programs

PETE literature has highlighted several theoretical orientations found within PETE programs (Tinning, 2006). Rink (1993) related the five conceptual orientations of teacher education by Feiman-Nemser (1990) to the field. Within the academic orientation, subject matter knowledge is primary with an emphasis on games, sports, dance, and fitness. Those who have a practical orientation focus on experience and conventional wisdom, which is exemplified by a heavy reliance on field experience. Within the technological orientation, PETE is systematic and based on science. These programs emphasize the effectiveness of the teachers' skills and research based skill development. When working from the personal orientation the teacher is viewed as both

a person and learner. These programs are individualized nurturing and emphasize the personal meaning behind teaching. Those programs that subscribe to a critical/social orientation underscore the context of teaching and the obligation teachers have to students and society. More specifically, these PETE programs encourage future teachers to address equity issues and inclusion (Rink, 1993). Of all the orientations given, many would argue that the critical/social orientation is the most aligned with social justice education, but before making this assumption it should be considered that social justice is contextual, and given certain circumstances there is a possibility that any orientation could be fit into a social justice agenda.

Similar to the five orientations mentioned above, Tinning (2006), related the four perspectives of teacher education as described by (Zeichner, 1983) to physical education teacher education. Included in these perspectives are the traditional/craft orientation, behavioristic orientation, personalistic orientation, and critical inquiry. The traditional/craft orientation approach to physical education leaves prospective teachers with very little control over their development as professionals. This approach emphasizes in-school teacher training programs. A behavioristic approach to physical education stresses the assessment of pre-service teachers using specific criteria for success. For example, a systematic analysis of teaching can be used to assess the quality of instruction among pre-service and in-service teachers (Veal & Anderson, 2011). Some teacher educators speculate that through the usage of video coding systems pre-service teachers will be able to accurately analyze their own teaching and be able to

make necessary improvements (Prusak, Dye, Graham, & Graser, 2010). Those PETE programs subscribing to a behaviorist orientation believe that learning is both observable and measurable. Aspects of PETE that are rooted in the critical perspective very often critique the positivistic nature of behaviorism and emphasize power relations with the curriculum and classroom (Tinning, 2006).

Physical Education Teacher Socialization

A major area of concern for physical education teacher educators is the effective socialization of future physical education teachers with regard to professional socialization. The socialization of future professionals is essential to the survival and reproduction of the field. The three paradigms through which research in teacher socialization operates are functionalist, interpretive, and critical (Dewar, 1989; Stroot & Ko, 2006; Zeichner & Gore, 1989). The study of teacher socialization has been described as being deeply rooted in functionalist traditions. From this perspective, the view of humans is as if they are situated within society or as if society is ontologically before man (Zeichner & Gore, 1989). A researcher operating from the functionalist paradigm would observe teachers to see how they function within a given context, the emphasis being on the context. In addition, within the functionalist paradigm the perspective of the researcher is privileged. The interpretive perspective is different from functionalism because it accounts for societal or environmental influences on behaviors and beliefs. Humans behave the way they do in part because of their environment. Humans are also influenced by their subjective perception of the environment–their

subjective realities (Willis, 2007). Those working from the interpretive paradigm seek to privilege the perspective of the participant not the observer. A researcher operating from the interpretivist paradigm might conduct interviews seeking to understand the "subjective experience" of participants as they are being socialized (Dewar, 1989; Zeichner & Gore, 1989). Unlike functionalism and the interpretive paradigms, those operating from the critical paradigm seek to problematize the society with the ultimate goal being transformation (Zeichner & Gore, 1989). Critical theorists understand that teachers—while being socialized—are both producers and products of society. Furthermore, "a central purpose of critical approaches is bringing to consciousness the ability to criticize what is taken for granted about everyday life" (Zeichner & Gore, 1989, p. 5). Critical theory research focuses on relationships of power (racism, classism, gender bias, etc.) that promote inequalities. Unfortunately, very few publications or studies have utilize the critical paradigm to elucidate inequalities or the lack of diversity within physical education. This is because many researchers use the paradigms they are most comfortable with to guide their practices rather than in-depth well thought out research questions (Zeichner & Gore, 1989); making it necessary to appraise the research regarding teacher socialization or any other aspect of teacher preparation with considerations for paradigm the research.

Unfortunately, within PETE very few studies have explicitly examined the role of teacher education for social justice within a framework of professional socialization. Missing from the strand of research is the relation of race, gender, and class in the

socialization of physical education teachers (Dewar, 1989). For instance, the following questions have not been asked with regard to physical education teacher socialization:

1. Whose interests are served by professional education programs in physical education?
2. How do potential recruits develop their identities as physical educators?
3. How do they respond to their experiences in sport and physical education programs that may be sexist, racist, ageist, and classist?
4. Who decides what constitutes appropriate socialization into physical education teaching?
5. Do the definitions of appropriate socialization into physical education challenge or reproduce the dominant relations in society? (Dewar, 1989, p. 53)

Hodge and Corbett (2013) utilized a theoretical framework of organizational socialization to explain contemporary considerations for lack of diversity within kinesiology programs in graduate school and the professoriate. In an earlier study of the organizational socialization of physical education professionals, Hodge and Stroot (1997) surveyed the barriers and support structures perceived by African American and White physical educators. Their results indicated that both groups of people, Black and White, had similar concerns regarding entry into graduate programs, which included concerns about, funding, personal financial obligations, and the ability to succeed or compete academically. However, participants differed in their perceptions of

experiencing racism within their graduate programs. Although highlighting race, diversity, and barriers to inclusion, neither of the aforementioned writings explicitly mentioned relations of power, thus not fully capturing the essence of critical or critical race perspectives. It should be noted that the development of professional identities is another means through which the socialization of physical education teachers and teacher educators can be studied (Macdonald & Kirk, 1996; Templin & Schempp, 1989). Fiona Dowling (2006) utilized a critical perspective to investigate the role PETE professionals' identities impact on how they addressed issues of gender inequity within PETE. She discovered that social justice regarding gender is superficially recognized and that the discourse surrounding gender in PETE remained consistent with traditional concepts of gender.

As a major subject within the PETE literature, inquiry into the professional socialization of physical educators and physical education teacher educators does not adequately address social justice or teacher education for social justice. Even thought this study does not directly encompass the professional socialization of physical educators, the implications studying social justice within a PETE classroom may be relevant to the socialization of future physical educators. Many parallels exist between challenges faced by teacher educators and physical education teacher educators in their attempts to prepare future teachers for social justice and socialize future practitioners. The greatest examples of this would be resistance and washout (Blankenship & Colem, 2009; Stroot & Ko, 2006). Teacher educators for social justice often emphasize the

usage of culturally relevant, anti-racist, culturally responsive, and other pedagogies in their attempts to prepare teachers for myriad of social justice issues that they will face (Gay, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 1995b). It is possible that upon entering the workforce teachers with socially just orientations experience a washout of sorts. Although, some pre-service teachers are taught to be democratic socially just teachers, they may not maintain these orientations once they become employed. Likewise, during the induction phase of organizational socialization, physical education teachers have been shown to conform to expectations set by schools (Stroot & Ko, 2006). In either case, even after spending extensive time in teacher education programs many teachers feel underprepared for work in urban or diverse communities (Harrison, Carson, & Burden Jr, 2010; Obidah & Howard, 2005). Unfortunately, many preservice teachers never experience a social justice washout because they are resistant to these concepts before they ever begin teaching. There are accounts of pre-service teachers resisting the expertise of both White and teacher educators of color with regard to issues of privilege and racism (Ahlquist, 1991). Likewise, pre-service physical educators are often reluctant to conform to the professional expectations set by teacher educators (Stroot & Ko, 2006).

The teacher socialization literature leaves open The Gap as to whether or not teacher education prepares future physical education teachers to be social justice educators. In other words, the literature has not addressed whether or not PETE programs are sites where future teachers are socialized for social justice. Specifically, a

gap exists as to whether or not PETE students are being prepared as conduits of social justice, within the roles of custodian, content innovator, or role innovator (Stroot & Ko, 2006)

Physical Education Teacher Education and Social Justice

Even though the amount of literature dedicated to social justice in teacher education is extensive, there is scant emphasis on issues of justice within PETE. This is in part due to a relative lack of publications on topics of social justice within the field. The scarcity of such research may be due, in part, to the sparseness of ethnic minorities available to do research or be researched within the field (Lowrie & Robinson, 2013). This is not to suggest that social justice is limited to issues surrounding that of ethnic minorities, that ethic minorities are the only ones capable of researching issues surrounding diversity, or that ethnic minorities are only capable of researching social justice related issues. Rather, the assertion here is that by diversifying the field more attention can be paid to the experiences of diverse groups of people through research and other means.

Concerning diversity, I would argue that as a result of the changing demographics in the United States coupled with the loss of PETE programs, those within the field need to address issues of diversity as a matter of survival. In light of this, it has been suggested the PETE programs increase their awareness regarding diversity (Burden, Hodge, O'Bryant, & Harrison, 2004). PETE programs should employ a multipronged approached to the support of diversification. Lowrie and Robinson (2013)

supported the usage of a Multicultural Organization Development framework that transitions organizations from being exclusionary to multicultural. This would be a clear effort to undue the documented historical struggles of ethnic minorities gaining access to the field (Hodge & Wiggins, 2010; Wiggins & Wiggins, 2011), and the continued struggles of faculty of color within PWIs (Burden, Harrison, & Hodge, 2005).

Not unlike the paucity of diverse teacher education candidates and teacher educators across teacher education, there are few teacher educators and teaching candidates of color within physical education. On the contrary, although specific programs exist to increase the proportion of future professionals within teacher education, much less had been documented about such programs for physical education teacher education (Gregory-Bass, Williams, Peters, & Blount, 2013). However, one such program is located at Auburn University where a program preparing future scholars was initiated to develop a pipeline of potential graduate students of color through building relationships with HBCUs, recruitment visits, a summer bridge program, and mentoring (Keith & Russell, 2013). Such programs are essential in developing a pipeline of students to increase diversity within kinesiology and PETE. Given the current decline of PETE doctoral candidates a concerted effort to attract, retain, and educate a diverse profession is paramount.

Studies have also demonstrated that many faculties in PETE recognize the need for increasing social justice pedagogies within programs, but are in some cases, fearful of doing so. All hope regarding the inclusion of social justice within physical education

is not lost, physical education teacher educators have been making some efforts to increase preservice teachers cultural competency, a major component of culturally relevant pedagogy (Ladson-Billings, 2000a), through service learning (Domangue & Carson, 2008). Studies have demonstrated that physical education textbooks leave much to be desired regarding diversity and multiculturalism (Hardin & Hardin, 2004; Hsu & Chepyator-Thomson, 2010), there have been recent publications attempting to infuse strategies for diversity in physical education settings (Hodge, Lieberman, & Murata, 2012).

Critical Pedagogy in PETE

Social justice has also manifested itself in the form of critical pedagogy. "This approach views didactic tasks and curriculum content as problematic and sees the role of educators in relation to society and the natural environment" (Fernández-Balboa, 1997a, p. 127). One of the goals of critical pedagogy is to extend beyond the classroom, having an impact within the larger community, whereby civic-minded political activism is commonplace.

Those within PETE that have adopted the claim that critical pedagogy is representative of social justice do so because it leans toward social reconstruction (Tinning, 2002). Being social justice pedagogy within PETE, critical pedagogy has encountered tremendous backlash from high profile scholars within the field for its lack of practicality. However Fernádez-Balboa (1995) gave the following examples of how critical pedagogy can be incorporated in the PETE classes: (a) students have input into

the development of syllabi; (b) rather than giving students exams they are prompted to self assess; (c) lecturing is limited; and (d) self assigned student homework (Fernádez-Balboa, 1995). He went on to explain how critical pedagogy is about more than just teaching methods.

> For me, critical pedagogy is not simply a methodology; it is a didactic form, a philosophy, that guides the actions and attitudes of certain educators concerned with two primary purposes: (a) to make persons more "fully human," more in touch with themselves and their contexts and more able to achieve happiness and freedom [Freire, 1985], and (b) to foster a more just society [Giroux, 1988a, 1988b]. (p. 99)

Along with the aforementioned strategies, physical education teacher educators can also have students examine curricular themes in PETE from a critical pedagogical perspective through the utilization of reflective practices. Specifically, students can reflect on ethics, values, morals, issues of discrimination, the scientization of physical education, and the nexus between the physical activity and the natural environment.

Macdonald (2002) offered case studies as means of studying critical pedagogy within physical education teacher education. In one example, teacher educators used action research as a means to understand critical pedagogy in PETE. Specifically, teacher educators created a classroom environment where students were required to read (newspapers), reflect (journal), and engage in praxis (teaching).

Interestingly, writings and research about critical pedagogy in PE and PETE have been most popular among scholars who are not from America or at the very least mainstream America (DevÌs-DevÌs & Sparkes, 1999; Fernádez-Balboa, 1995; Kirk, 2006; Tinning, 2006). It should not be confused that because critical pedagogy has a presence within the PETE literature, that it is widely accepted or taught within programs. Mainstream rhetoric around PETE has described a critical pedagogy as "radical" in an attempt to delegitimize its role within the profession (O'Sullivan, Siedentop, & Locke, 1992). Another critique of critical pedagogy is that it provides numerous critiques of the society at large and education, but remains nugatory in attempting to provide solutions for that which it appraises (Macdonald, 2002). Having met a conservative backlash within the ranks of those who represent the well established more conservative paradigms through which physical education and teacher education exist, it has been proposed that a more modest pedagogy be employed to appease all sides (Tinning, 2002). This theoretically mollified version of what would be consider critical pedagogy does acknowledges the inherent political nature of teaching and teacher education, but fails to offer any suggestions for its potential usage. Making matters worse the suggestion of a "modest pedagogy" was merely a statement of what is needed in spite of critical pedagogy, rather than a description of what a more modest pedagogy truly is (Tinning, 2002).

Culturally Relevant Pedagogy in Physical Education/PETE

One of the shortcomings of critical pedagogy is that it does not always account for issues of race and culture. In fact, many of the scholars who produce literature about critical pedagogy are of European descent. In many cases literature that references critical pedagogy, theory, or paradigm mention of race, cultural, and ethnicity, but lack an intentional focus on any of them (Bain, 1990a; Fernádez -Balboa, 1995; Ruiz, & Fernandez-Balboa, 2005). Culturally relevant pedagogy takes critical pedagogy a step further by specifically considering the culture of students. The most popular rendering of CRP was developed by Ladson-Billings (1995b, 2009) whereby she studied excellent teachers of African American children. The tenets of this pedagogy are academic excellence, the appreciation for one's cultural identity, and the development of a sociopolitical consciousness. Additionally, CRP has been expanded to meet the needs of diverse students who are not African American (Gutstein, Lipman, Hernandez, & Reyes, 1997; Wortham & Contreras, 2002).

This existence of CRP within the PETE literature is both limited and sometimes divergent from the more popular application mentioned above. For example, in one study two White teacher educators sought to employ a culturally relevant pedagogy through Step, a traditional African American dance style that can be seen in many variations throughout the African Diaspora (Hastie, Martin, & Buchanan, 2006). In this study, researchers substantiated their idea of academic success by equating the teamwork used by the students with cooperative learning. One could also argue that the

cultural identity of the students was maintained because stepping is an activity that is rooted in the African American community. However, this particular study failed to document how the use of step increased the students' socio-political awareness (Hastie et al. 2006). On the contrary, it provides greater insight into the sociopolitical awareness of White educators confronting their positionality as they teach African American students.

> While we felt relieved that the students embraced the content and worked hard at mastering the new curriculum, we still had an underlying uneasiness about our own role as teachers. While questions about "can we do it" were answered in the positive, questions about "should we be the ones to do it" remained. The uneasiness was no longer because of a lack of content knowledge, but more a case of having to apologize for being the deliverers of the content (versus someone from an African American heritage). Our profound, albeit brief, experience as the "Other" heightened our already prickly under- standings of our own racial identity and its privileges relative to African American heritage. (Hastie et al., 2006, p. 303)

This study does offer room for optimism as it demonstrated a clear example of teachers, in this case teacher educators in the role of teachers, who are not members of the same cultural group as their students successfully learning from those who they teach. In order for CRP to be successful teachers must be able to learn from their

students. Said another way, teachers who employ culturally relevant/responsive pedagogies are culturally competent teachers (Ladson-Billings, 2001).

The need for improved cultural competence among physical education teachers is clear, as it has been indicated that White physical education teachers have less cultural competency than physical education teachers of color (Harrison Jr. et al., 2010). This is not to suggest that teachers of color would not benefit from increased cultural competence. It should not be assumed that because of a teacher's race or ethnic background that he or she will be culturally competent. In order to raise cultural awareness or competency physical education preservice teachers need to be provided cross racial experiences whereby they can interact with people who are not of the same backgrounds (Burden, 2011). One example of providing students with cross-racial/cultural experiences is a service learning initiative that took place in the wake of Hurricane Katrina (Domangue & Carson, 2008). Students from a university PETE program were tasked with developing physical activity lessons for students in grades K-5 living in a temporary community. Through the usage of the multicultural teaching competency scale (Spanierman et al., 2011), journal entries, and interviews, researchers were able find that in most cases students' cultural competence increased after participating in the cross cultural service learning (Domangue & Carson, 2008). Unfortunately, most participants in the study were able to increase their cultural competency score there were some who actually decreased. Perhaps a potential negative

of this service-learning context is that it reinforced negative stereotypes of the students being taught.

Providing students with diverse encounters can be a fruitful experience, but the exposure given to students regarding social justice is ineffective if limited to a single class, practicum, or service learning experience. In order for social justice to be most effective within PETE programs, there should be broad emphasis that begins at the (university) institutional level. For example, both The University of Minnesota and The Ohio State University have demonstrated commitments at the institutional level toward the socially just mission of increasing diversity (Culp, 2011; Hodge & Wiggins, 2010). Once universities have made and publicized their commitments to diversity, physical education programs can then assess specific needs. It has also been suggested that students who are within PETE should be introduced to teaching for social justice at the outset of their higher education experience (Culp, 2011). Therefore, certain measures must be taken to ensure that social justice is addressed through the PETE curriculum. As curricular changes are made, PETE students should then be able to engage in three forms of praxis, reflection, dialogue, and action. This model of social justice PETE is useful, considering that it accounts for the context with which social justice in the form of diversity is addressed outside on the PETE program.

Aside from engaging preservice teachers in various forms of praxis, it is important for physical education teacher educators to model practical strategies that can be used in the classroom or gymnasium. Educators should be taught to be aware of the

sights, sounds, and symbols within their teaching space (Culp, 2010). What students see within the PE context directly influences their experiences. Activities in the classroom should be organized in such a way that students are able to recognize and appreciate various cultural manifestations of physical activity and sport. The auditory experiences of students within physical education classes are also a significant component to foster a culturally responsive environment. Specifically, it is incumbent upon PETE programs to prepare future educators for language diversity such that they are able to meet the needs of English language and Bilingual learners. Teacher educators must also prepare students to be cognizant of symbolism within the gymnasium or field. "If used correctly, symbolism can reinforce positive ideas and constructive behaviors, as well as empower students" (Culp, 2010, p. 13). Given that race and gender differences in sport and physical activity participation have been shown to be a function of self-schemata (Harrison, Lee, & Belcher, 1999; Harrison, 1995), those who educate physical education teachers should model the importance of balance regarding the imagery used in the gymnasium. Visual representations should display cultural representations that are both relevant and astereotypical (Culp, 2010). Socially just teacher educators of physical education ultimately seek to provide preservice teachers with the ability to instill in their pupils the ability to make choices that can enhance their chances to participate in lifelong physical activities.

Physical education teacher education textbooks. The most prominent significant symbols utilized within education and teacher education are textbooks.

Textbooks serve to validate official knowledge within schools and therefore are conduits of discourse, ideologies, and agendas (M. Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; M. W. Apple, 1988). Textbooks are often elevated to the stature of gospel, and rarely are they questioned or critiqued within classrooms. Although not an integral component of physical education outside of higher education, textbooks have been described as essential artifacts within PETE (Hardin & Hardin, 2004). Further, "textbooks impact the realities of curriculum and instruction in physical education teacher education programs" (Hsu & Chepyator-Thomson, 2010, p. 200). The content included within textbooks serves as key tools of socialization for teacher education students (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Goldstein, Bailis, & Chance, 1983). It is imperative not to underestimate the power textbooks have on PETE students.

Studies have shown that textbooks are notorious for depoliticizing, misrepresenting, or omitting people from marginalized groups (Brown & Brown, 2010; Brown & Brown, 2010; Zimmerman, 2005). Textbooks are important curricular artifacts. Many studies have examined textbooks with regard to social justice. Using Bank's (2002, 2006) five dimensions of multicultural education; (a) content integration, (b) the knowledge construction process, (c) prejudice reduction, (d) equity-based pedagogy, and (e) empowerment of school culture and social structure; along with Sleeter and Grant's (2003) five approaches to multicultural education; (a) the exceptionally and culturally different, (b) human relations, (d) single group studies, (d) multicultural education, and (e) education that is multicultural and social-

reconstructionists, Hsu and Chepyator-Thomson (2010) described how textbook authors of secondary physical education textbooks utilize concepts of multiculturalisms. Overall, the study discovered that multicultural education approaches were articulated in the development of curriculum content objectives, but within the area of pedagogy, approaches were scarcely utilized. Other textbook studies have examined the utilization of images rather than words. It has been shown that within general physical education textbooks, images of individuals with disabilities are either missing or stereotypical (Hardin & Hardin, 2004). Perhaps even worse is that physical education textbooks portrayals of disability or the lack thereof reinforces hegemonic notions that sport and physical activity are for those without disability (Hardin, 2007). Given that studies have demonstrated that there are many shortcomings within physical education and PETE textbooks, professionals can be encouraged that there are a few textbooks with content dedicated specifically to addressing areas of social justice (Hodge et al., 2012; Winnick, 2010).

When textbooks are not sufficient, other texts have been shown to be effective conduits of social justice. For example, supplementary reading material can be used to introduce archetypes that represent some aspect of social justice (Culp, 2013). Archetype examples used in PETE settings range from legendary basketball coach John Wooden to PETE exemplars Mabel Lee and E. B. Henderson. Because the utilization of archetypes in text connects students' familiar knowledge with the unfamiliar while emphasizing

social justice, this strategy is an example of how culturally relevant pedagogy can be infused into PETE.

Physical Education Teacher Education Curricula

In her introduction to *Models and Curricula of Physical Education Teacher Education*, Connie Collier (2006) acknowledged that her work is both limited and biased in that it privileges the perspectives of those sources deemed acceptable by the academic community. She goes on to mention the importance of recognizing that the voices of ethnic minorities, women, practitioners, and others are left in the margin. This uncommon confession serves as the backdrop of this section. The majority of mainstream curricular models used in PETE do not explicitly address issues of social justice.

It has been noted that the dominant worldview in physical education is scientific functionalism, and thus PETE has been characterized as having unwavering belief in the objective truth associated with understanding the physical and physiological functioning of the human body (Tinning, 1990). A major contributing factor to the application of various curricula in PETE is the struggle for legitimacy (Collier, 2006). The declaration that physical education should be a discipline and not a profession (Henry, 1964, 1978), has resulted in tensions between the expectations set by schools and that of higher education (Collier, 2006). The logic used to substantiate the disciplinary status of physical education has had a negative impact on the type of knowledge acquired by physical educators. Rather than developing robust pedagogical content knowledge,

physical education teachers instead have become great managers of students. They are well informed about biomechanics, physiology, and human anatomy but not the knowledge, which is most useful for teaching (Siedentop, 2002). The notion that physical education teachers are being prepared to manage students and not educate them is problematic; studies have shown that within poorer and more diverse schools there is an overemphasis on discipline and not education (Skiba, Michael, Nardo, & Peterson, 2002). If in poorer and/or more diverse communities, the emphasis is on the management of students, teachers likely lack the cultural competence to effectively teach students and simultaneously manage behavior effectively. The discipline revolution proposed by Henry (1964) is likely less about the opinion of scholars and more about the political climate that surrounds teaching and teacher education.

There is a wide range of curricular models that are emphasized within PETE programs, with many programs highlighting multiple types (S. F. Ayers & Housner, 2008). Some of the most popular curricular models adopted are sport education, skill themes, and fitness education. These models as well as others are the indicative of the values set forth by professionals within the field. As such, it is important to examine the means through which social justice is or is not included within the curricula. "What gets taught and learned across the curriculum has come under scrutiny as schools are positioned as the problem and solution in relation to a number social, health, economic and political issues" (D. Kirk, Macdonald, & O'Sullivan, 2006, p. 564). Therefore, when examining the various curricula promoted by PETE programs, one should consider how

well they address issues of social justice. Furthermore, when considering physical education, it is important to understand that the events in the gymnasium, field, or, at times, the classroom do not occur in a vacuum.

Mentioned earlier, physical education is one of the most marginalized disciplines within education, making it one of the least valued. The need for increased emphasis on issues of social justice within PETE and physical education should not be divorced from the marginal status of physical education (Bain, 1990b).

Sport Education

Sport education has six primary attributes: seasons, affiliations, formal competitions, culminating events, record keeping, and festivity (Siedentop, 1998). The seasons allow the traditional unit format to go beyond four to six weeks. Affiliation is a technique that gives students opportunities to work in small groups or teams throughout a given season, which is conducive to participation. Participation is also maximized through formal competition, however, not in the traditional sense. Instead, the sport education model (SEM) emphasizes modifications of team sizes and rules. Record keeping, another important component, is done to track the accomplishments of groups and individuals. The term "accomplishment" encompasses more than winning formal competition. It can include fair play, leadership, conflict resolution, and more. Finally, festivity turns sport into an occasion. In some instances groups select team names, design jerseys, or represent countries in Olympic style competitions (Kinchin, 2006).

Claims have been made suggesting that the SEM provides a culturally relevant and inclusive sport experience for children (Kinchin, 2006). Although the sport education model is applicable in various settings and with a variety of students, usage of the term "culturally relevant" promotes a fallacious discourse about the intentions of the curricular model. There are few examples of how current conceptualizations of SEM are consistent with the tenets of social justice or CRP (Cochran-Smith, 2009; Ladson-Billings, 1995b). Unlike the literature describing culturally relevant pedagogy and culturally responsive teaching, the sport education model does not make room for the development of critical consciousness of students, nor does the literature surrounding sport education explicitly mention the maintenance of student cultural identities.

Notwithstanding, the sport education model does have the potential to be used in a more critical and socially just manner. In one example, Kinchin and O'Sullivan (1999) discuss how a cultural studies approach can be used to bolster the sport education model, allowing for students to become critical consumers and participants in sport. In this model, students are made aware of how sport is intertwined within the culture at large but also within their locale. For example:

> Students discussed the availability of sport in their school, debated the perceived unfairness of how their school served only a tiny percentage of the population for purposes of physical activity (full court basketball played during open gym), and discussed issues of gender and body image associated with the place of sport in society. (Kinchin & O'Sullivan, 1999, p. 41)

Using the cultural studies, approach there appeared to be success in an urban high school setting when university professors and graduate students collaborated with local physical education programs. Unfortunately, the authors did not address how such an approach to teaching physical education could be used in teacher education programs.

The Skill Theme Approach

The skill theme approach is a pedagogical and content-based method to teaching physical education that accounts for the varying levels of development and motor skill proficiency of students. It is considered a developmentally appropriate approach to teaching students. This approach to teaching physical education was originally proposed by Graham, Holt/Hale and Parker (1980), with its foundations stemming from Laban's "movement analysis framework." Initially, the skill theme approach was proposed in the mid-1970s with an emphasis on the development of fundamental motor skills and their application to a variety of sports and physical activities (G. Graham, Holt/Hale, & Parker, 1980). There are several characteristics utilized to describe the skill theme approach (STA). Teachers using STA seek for their students to gain competence in performing a variety of locomotor non-manipulative and manipulative motor skills. Because skill themes are generic, teachers generally begin by teaching motor skills. Tasks are matched to students' abilities not their age or grade level. The scope and sequence of STA is designed to meet the needs and interests of students as they develop and mature. Rather than confining the teaching of a particular skill or concept to one unit during the school year, STA allows teachers to revisit skills throughout the school year

(G. Graham et al., 1980). The skill theme approach also emphasizes instructional alignment, such that students are able to meet goals and objects.

Fitness education. Like the skill theme approach, fitness education in PETE has been introduced to prospective teachers as means of promoting developmentally approach physical education (Bulger, Mohr, Carson, & Wiegand, 2001). Whereas STA uses generic skills as its foundation, fitness education emphasizes health related fitness outcomes as a measurement of success. Fitness education has found its place within physical education out of a glaring need for children to increase fitness levels. More specifically, health related fitness, has become a topic of increasing emphasis due to the high acquisition rate of preventable diseases throughout the country. Considering that poor and minority communities have fewer opportunities for fitness and physical activity, providing access to such opportunities has been framed as an argument for social justice (Lee & Cubbin, 2009).

PETE programs have made efforts to prepare prospective teachers to effectively utilize fitness education within gymnasia. For example, at West Virginia University PETE students enroll in a fitness education course whereby they attend both labs and lectures. Within the lecture sessions student acquire knowledge about: (a) the foundations of health related fitness and physical activity, (b) the components of health related physical fitness, (c) curriculum and instructional methods in fitness education, and (d) strategies for the assessment of student achievement in health related physical fitness education for school aged children (Bulger et al., 2001). Once students have

finished lecture and labs, they participate in a clinical experience whereby they teach elementary and secondary students. Unlike the cross-cultural experiences designed to expose preservice teachers to a population of students who are of different cultures. Additionally, there are limitations to the utilization of this curricular model. Specific to social justice, facilities and resources can determine the quality and approach used to implement fitness education (McConnell, 2010).

Both the skill theme and fitness education approaches to physical education can be used as means to provide quality physical education to all students, but neither has been thoroughly discussed in terms of preparing teachers to teach in a socially just manner. This is not to say that the two approaches to physical education are void of any potential for social justice. Within any educational context high quality well thought out approaches to physical education are needed. Additionally, given the disparities regarding health, fitness, and physical activity these two curricular approaches pose a great benefit to marginalized communities. However, there is need for further conceptualization of how these models can be taught to preservice teachers to be utilized in culturally relevant ways.

Teaching for personal and social responsibility. Teaching for personal and social responsibility (TPSR) was initially linked to urban settings. The father of the curriculum, Don Hellison, developed the teaching style through his experiences with underserved and at-risk youth in the inner city (Hellison & Martinek, 2006). Nevertheless, the discourse presented about TPSR and other social and individual

responsibility programs do not appear to align with how teaching for social justice has been theorized by academics in other fields. For example, inequalities correlated with race, class, gender, or sexual orientations are not clearly articulated in the chapter Social and Individual Responsibility Programs (Hellison & Martinek, 2006). Instead, coded language is often supplanted for terms that directly bring race and poverty into the discourse. In short, TPSR is presented as a post-racial pedagogy situated in an egalitarian society. For example:

> TPSR hovered on the margins of the physical education profession for several years, although a few teachers here and there found in it a kindred spirits. However, as problems with children and youth, whether poor or affluent, escalated. TPSR began to be adopted and adapted in a variety of settings. (Hellison & Martinek, 2006, p. 611)

Further, it is interesting to note that it was not until TPSR became useful for those in affluent school settings, not within the margin, did the style become popular.

Although it appears, as previously stated, that TPSR has been utilized across various contexts, by not addressing issues of oppression, racial, gender, class and other inequalities it does not consistently seek to confront these difficult issues. It is in this way that TPSR avoids conflict whereas social justice is less about political correctness and more about recognizing and dealing with the politics of education. In describing how teaching for personal and social responsibility developed, Hellison acknowledged

the existence of racism and poverty, but claims that challenging these issues is out of reach (Hellison, 2003).

In DeBusk and Hellison's (1989) study, ten delinquent prone fourth grade students were taught using the physical education self-responsibility model, which includes six self-responsibility interaction strategies; they are teacher talk, modeling, reinforcement, reflection time, student sharing, and specific strategies. In contrast, Cochran-Smith, (2009) suggested teaching for social justice is not about specific methods. Rather, within teacher education, teaching for social justice "acknowledges the social and political contexts in which teaching, learning, schooling and ideas about justice have been located historically and the tensions among competing goals" (Cochran-Smith, 2009, p. 3).

Next, TPSR situates students as problems in need of repair; students are the problems rather than the solutions. By ignoring authentic plights against racism, gender biases, class bias, etc., students have become, in the Freirean sense, the objects of, and not the subjects of their education (Freire, 2006). On the contrary, teaching for social justice emphasizes students as change agents in society. However, an argument can be made that TPSR does not situate students as objects. TPSR has also been described as not a means for teachers to get inside the minds of students, but getting them inside their own heads (Hellison, 2003). To accomplish this teachers are then supposed to relinquish a certain amount of power to students. Suppose the source of oppression or lack of empowerment felt by students is caused by larger societal ills, systemic poverty, racism,

sexism, etc. How then can TPSR empower students if such issues are never addressed? Moreover, if empowerment can be given by the teacher and then taken away at his or her leisure, one can question whether empowerment ever truly occurs.

Moving forward, a point of clarification, this critical perspective of TPSR does not contest the notion that one physical education class can change the world (Hellison, 2003). However, it is conceivable that physical education can and should have a lasting impact on students. Integrating social justice is a worthwhile endeavor when teaching physical education. Furthermore, TPSR is not antithetical to social justice in education; it simply falls short of many pertinent social justice principals.

The hidden curriculum. Even though there are many forms of formal curriculum, perhaps the most important is that of the hidden curriculum, that which is taken for granted in the process of teaching and learning. Hidden curriculum has been described in many ways. Bain (1990a) described the hidden curriculum as what is taught to students because of regularities promoted by institutions and as the routines and rituals that govern students' lives.

From a superficial perspective, education in America has been a progressive endeavor. In some instances, it has been described as the linchpin of American democracy, allowing for the full functioning of and participation in American life (Dewey, 1916). Even though this perspective of education has been critiqued by many, particularly with regard to the representation of marginalized people in the curriculum,

that which occurs in the hidden curriculum is as important as what is clearly seen within it, if not more so.

Physical educators can serve as conduits of injustice through the hidden curriculum. This occurs because physical educators often divorce their roles from the broader social contexts (Fernández-Balboa, 1993; Hellison, 2003). Scholars within PETE have taken a critical stance on the hidden curriculum within physical education, but have neglected studying it within higher education.

> Physical education helps create and maintain the actual ideology and socio-cultural conditions, the hidden curriculum in physical education, as I have previously explained, consists of surreptitious socio-cultural constructs that shape and mediate our values, experiences, and practices as teacher and student; affect what and how we teach and learn, and ultimately influence our roles in and assumption about society. (Fernández-Balboa, 1993, p. 232)

Balboa further asserted that the hidden curriculum in physical education can be summated using the following adjectives: (a) coercive and eliminative, (b) "presumably" neutral and apolitical, (c) standardized and impersonal, (d) reproductive and legitimizing, (e) linear and logical, (f) restrictive, (g) competitive and individualistic, (h) fragmented, (h), un-contextual (j), discriminatory (k), elitist, and (l), stratified/ hierarchical. Although Balboa has a pessimistic view of the physical education hidden curricula, research has pointed out that both students and teachers are able to resist negative aspects of the hidden curricula by not subscribing to the universalistic value

system by which all students are judged (Bain, 1990a). In doing so, teachers are able to recognize the individual differences of students.

One benefit to the utilization of a critical approach to the study of the hidden physical education curriculum is that it allows researchers to examine issues that are typically ignored (Collier, 2006). For example, an ethnographic study by Ennis et al (1997) examined the experiences of girls in an urban setting. They found that a variety of reasons were responsible for the disengagement of girls who were mostly African American. The reasons included an overemphasis in sport, the lack of variety of sport, and the dominance of male participants in sporting (basketball) context. Additionally, it was discovered that the gymnasium was in some ways a symbolic prison. Teachers used tactics such as locking doors to keep students (girls) in the gym and other students outside of the gym. Teachers in this setting lied to their students about having the resources necessary to play certain sports (i.e., basketball). Ultimately, it was discovered that some schools emphasized safety rather than learning. However, there were teachers who were successful at maximizing the learning experience of the students. These teachers used culturally relevant approaches to make content meaningful for students. Another quality displayed by these teachers was the consistency with which they operated (Ennis et al., 1997).

A limiting factor in each of the ethnographies mentioned above is that researchers did not specifically address their own positionality relative or power dynamics as White researchers investigating ethnic minority communities. Ironically,

although the examples presented earlier are indicative of an attempt to explore urban and indigenous settings, there are few examples of the hidden curriculum with regard to race whereas the topic of gender is more prominent. This is likely the case because White women have greater representation that ethnic minorities male or female within physical education teacher education (Bain, 1990a).

Teacher Preparation at HBCUs

With all the questions surrounding the need to increase the number of ethnic minorities within teacher education, one would think that particular emphasis should be given to those institutions that have been dedicated to the training of teachers of color from their inception, HBCUs. Even though the title given to these institutions implies that they were created specifically for African Americans, many HBCUs have a history of including other marginalized ethnic groups (Washington, 2010). The relevance of these institutions to the development of teachers both in present and past generations cannot be denied as they were founded with the intent to develop not only competent laborers but teachers as well. In spite of the fact that HBCUs are a minority within the higher education landscape, they produce 50% of African American teachers (Ladson-Billings, 2012). Considering history and given that HBCUs are defined as those institutions of higher learning that were established prior to 1964 with the intent of educating African Americans (Nelms, 2010), one could easily argue that teacher education is the historical foundation of HBCUs. Part of the original mission of many

HBCUs was to prepare teachers who would educate the masses of undereducated African Americans (J. W. Fraser, 2007).

Just as there are ongoing debates about the role and relevance of HBCUs in the present, such debates were also existent in the era immediately following reconstruction (DuBois, 1994; Washington, 2010). Despite limited funding and organizational support, DuBois (1994) explained that in the midst of a post-Civil War climate, HBCUs were able to accomplish much:

> Southern [W]hites would not teach them; Northern [W]hites in sufficient numbers could not be had. If the Negro was to learn, he must teach himself, and the most effective help that could be given him was the establishment of schools to train Negro teachers. This conclusion was slowly but surely reached by every student of the situation until simultaneously, in widely separated regions, without consultation or systematic plan, there arose a series of institutions designed to furnish teachers for the untaught. Above the sneers of critics at the obvious defects of this procedure must ever stand its one crushing rejoinder: in a single generation they put thirty thousand [B]lack teachers in the South; they wiped out the illiteracy of the majority of the [B]lack people of the land, and they made Tuskegee possible. (DuBois, 1994, p. 60)

However, DuBois also offers harsh criticism to the undergirding philosophy of, Booker T. Washington, leading Black educator of the late 1800s and early1900s:

> Mr. Washington's programme naturally takes an economic cast, becoming a gospel of Work and Money to such an extent as apparently almost completely to overshadow the higher aims of life. Moreover, this is an age when the more advanced races are coming in closer contact with the less developed races, and the race feeling is therefore intensified; and Mr. Washington's programme practically accepts the alleged inferiority of the Negro races. Again, in our own land, the reaction from the sentiment of wartime has given impetus to race-prejudice against Negroes, and Mr. Washington withdraws many of the high demands of Negroes as men and American citizens. (DuBois, 1994, p. 30)

The legacy of HBCUs endures even to this day as they represent less than 3% of the nation's schools but produce more than their equal share of Black educators. Unfortunately, these institutions incur unfair amounts of criticism regarding the quality of education they provide. Ironically, "the call for more teachers of color has not been framed around HBCUs but rather a variety of factors that indicate their pivotal role in the academic success of the increasingly diverse PK-12 student population" (Dilworth, 2012, p. 123). Contrary to their role in the development of education policy in the era following the Civil War, HBCUs are on the outskirts of the policy debates surrounding education, except for standardized testing. This is thought to be the case because such test have posed the most immediate threat to the viability of teacher education programs within HBCUs (Dilworth, 2012). In 2007, education faculty members from 20 HBCUs participated in the ETS-HBCU Assessment Development Invitational Conference

whereby they discussed issues ranging from the cultural biases of praxis exams and strategies for increasing students scores (Dodson, 2007). HBCUs have also made similar efforts in preparing future teachers to become nationally board certified by aligning their content with NBTS standards in efforts to increase the number of board certified African American teachers (Brotherton, 2002). HBCUs have been the beneficiaries of legislation designed to foster teacher excellence and diversity amongst the professional ranks.

> HBCUs have the potential to make a significant difference in solving one of the most intractable problems in K-12 education: how to recruit, retain, and develop teachers for high-need schools. HBCUs are uniquely qualified to address the challenge of high-need school. If HBCUs' colleges of education are to continue their mission of educating teachers for high-need schools, significant financial resources and other support mechanisms should be available to them. (Irvine & Fenwick, 2011, p. 197)

HBCUs have greater potential than other institutions to staff needy schools with teachers of color who can positively impact academic outcomes (Irvine & Fenwick, 2011). Considering that HBCUs have made efforts to not only prepare those within underrepresented populations as teachers but also prepare them to teach underrepresented populations, the social justice intentions of these institutions is difficult to question.

Physical Education Teacher Education at HBCUS

Overall, there is very little research on the history and contemporary status of PETE programs at HBCUs. Given that African Americans were restricted from attending many PWIs, they would seek degrees in education at HBCUs like Howard, Fisk, Hampton, Tuskegee, Morgan State, and Lincoln Universities. The first undergraduate PETE programs within HBCUs began at Howard and Hampton Universities in 1924 (Samuel R. Hodge & Wiggins, 2010), with Hampton being the first to offer a course specifically for women (Ellis, 1939).

The earliest studies of HBCUs indicated that a significant amount of PETE faculty members did not have doctorate of philosophy degrees (Ph.D.), with many institutions lacking adequate facilities for the training of future physical educators. Based upon a study conducted by Townes (1951) it was suggested that HBCU PETE programs improve the training of faculty and staff, make efforts to recruit students into the profession, increase access to scholarly materials, expand course offerings, continue the training of faculty, increase faculty numbers, and participation in professional organizations. In another study of HBCU PETE programs the general findings were that (a) the status of health and physical education was low, (b) most of the institutions had recreation programs for women, but few had well planned health and physical education programs, and (c) some physical education courses were not designed to meet the individual needs of students (Ellis, 1939). The results of this study also suggested an emphasis on sport rather physical education or health, which is in stark contrast to the

contemporary efforts of some HBCUs to drop athletic programs in favor of more beneficial physical activity and wellness programs (Tierney, 2013). In 1952 Weatherford uncovered that graduate level students and faculty within HBCUs had been conducting research in the areas of physical education, recreation, and health but were challenged by many of the same issues indicated in early studies of undergraduate programs. For example, there was a need to increase the quality of facilities, qualified faculty, participation in professional organizations, and resources to support faculty research in the form of money and sabbaticals. In more recent studies, the characteristics of and challenges faced by HBCU PETE programs have also been highlighted (Stier & Quarterman, 1992). During this time, the majority of full time faculty did have PhDs, with many having to take on multiple roles (i.e., coaching and/ or administration). The increased responsibilities and relative lack of funding made it difficult for these faculties to engage in research. In spite of the fact that it has been largely documented that there are inequities between HBCUs and PWIs. Also all HBCUs are not the same and have differing amounts of resources (Taylor, 1999).

There are no recent—within the last 10 years—comprehensive studies of HBCU PETE programs. During the early 90s PETE programs at HBCUs were small, having an average of about eight faculty members per institution. The majority of faculty were not African American. Surprisingly, one of the greatest challenges faced by these institutions was the perceived lack of qualified African Americans for faculty positions in all physical education related disciplines (Crase, Evans, Overby, & Wilkens, 1991).

Department chairs within these programs expressed concerns relative to the lack of diversity with PETE/related fields and the negative perceptions of programs housed in HBCUs. When asked how AAHPERD—now SHAPE America—could assist with their programs the following suggestions were made: (a) to maintain open communication between the organization and individual departments to foster greater student and faculty participation; (b) to have outside experts appraise programs within HBCUs and provide useful recommendations; (c) provide established research mentors for those minorities interested in research and publishing; (d) the provision of financial support for those interested in development and research; (e) the establishment of minority recruitment as top priority within AAHPERD; (f) provide career information early for young African Americans; (g) to emphasize historical contributions of prominent Black professionals; and (f) to raise the awareness of and be receptive to the knowledge and skills of Black professionals.

It has been noted, however, that programs at HBCUs prepare students to become highly qualified and culturally responsive educators (Sato, Fisette, & Walton, 2013). For example, at Hampton University pre-service teachers are taught to provide their future pupils with experiences beyond stereotypic physical activities (Sato & Hodge, 2012). Following this model Sato, Hodge, Speight, and Jensen (2010) explored PETE candidates' aquatic experiences and reflections at an HBCU. Using the qualitative descriptive methods of self-reflective journaling and interviews, researchers analyzed the experiences of six pre-service teachers participating in a course for novice

swimmers. The intentions of this course were to counter the effects of stereotypes and other social factors that may impede African American's ability to swim. Pre-service teachers were taught with the same intentions with which they were expected to teach in diverse learning settings.

Another example of that study emphasized the experience of students within HBCU-PETE programs uncovered several themes related to the experiences of students in the midst of their field experience which were; (a) navigating power relationships between cooperating teachers and students, (b) the shock of feeling under-prepared, (c) encountering cultural normalcy, and (d) stereotypes in teaching physical education (Sato et al., 2013). Essentially, students were trapped between negotiating the disciplinary expectations of their cooperating teachers and the more appropriate means of behavior management taught at their university. Consistent with other literature, these PETE students felt a disconnection between the theoretical academic content and their authentic experiences in the field. Perhaps the most difficult aspect of their experience was the resistance of African American students to a variety of sports, some which had been labeled as White sports (Sato et al., 2013).

The research concerning teacher education in physical education within HBCUs is scarce with many of the studies being outdated (Ellis, 1939; Kirk, 1969; Townes, 1951). Of the studies that do exist, there is little evidence of research surrounding the culture of PETE classroom within HBCUs.

Why Ethnography?

Reflexivity. This study is as much a personal, emotional, and spiritual journey as it is an academic endeavor. Nevertheless, for me this is an especially difficult task because I am a graduate of an HBCU. Having to negotiate my passion for social justice and HBCUs while recognizing that I have been attending graduate school at a wealthy PWI has been difficult to negotiate given my critique of the overemphasis of teacher education for social justice at a PWI. In spite of the fact that I did not attend the university under examination in this study, I still feel connected and invested in Jackie Robinson University. My connection to JRU stems from my undergraduate experience as a student attending North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University—an HBCU. For this reason, perhaps more so than any other, ethnographic method is an ideal way to conduct this study. Ethnographies are unique in that they allow; rather, they require the researcher to confront his or her positionality, privilege, ideologies, and epistemologies. This study is as much about exploring the manifestation of social justice and teaching for social justice within an HBCU PETE program, as it is a personal search for the meaning of social justice. Therefore, it was important that I did not allow my uneasiness with the meaning of social justice within teacher education to distort my ability to conduct the proposed study. In the simplest terms, ethnography allowed me, the researcher; to get out of the way but still acknowledge the impact I had on this study and those involved, including myself.

Thick description. A hallmark of ethnography is the production of a detailed narrative with thick description. The thickness of this study reflected an understanding of JRU's internal logic. That is to say, this study through thick description captured more than what people do, but a shared logic that shed light on informants' thoughts and interpretations of JRU's culture. It should be noted that while the participants were participating in shared logic of social of justice they were not always explicitly aware of doing so.

Ethnography has "the capacity to open up a world to the reader through rich, detailed, and concrete descriptions of people and places" (Patton, 2002). Thick description is further describe in the following manner:

> A thick description does more than record what a person is doing. It goes beyond mere fact and surface appearances. It presents detail, context, emotion, and the webs of social relationships that join persons to one another. Thick description evokes emotionality and self-feelings. It inserts history into experience. It establishes the significance of an experience. It establishes the significance of an experience, or the sequence of events, for the person or persons in question. In thick description, the voices, feelings, actions, and meaning of interacting individuals are heard. (Denzin, 2001)

This is relevant to the selection of ethnographic method and methodology because thick description elicits sufficient interpretation of data, which eventually leads to the production of a narrative. This is a byproduct of copious and detailed fieldnotes

that are eventually corroborated with interviews and artifacts. The attention to detail captured in data collection facilitates the clarity of the ethnographic narrative. It is in this way that ethnography is unique. The narrative product of ethnography is indicative of the holistic nature of ethnography.

HBCU Ethnographies

Descriptive studies of HBCUs can be traced as far back as W. E. B. DuBois' critical writing about Wilberforce University (DuBois, 1940). In it, he described the potential and shortcomings of what is arguably America's first HBCU. Detailing the influences of the AME Church, individual African Americans affiliated with the university, and others. DuBois provided an in-depth look into the politics of an HBCU. Although technically not an ethnography and clearly biased given his critical stance, DuBois, as an employee of the university, offered an insiders perspective of an HBCU. Consistent with ethnographic methodology, he clarified his epistemic perspective by engaging in a diatribe about the conditions of Wilberforce:

> I was from the moment I stepped on this campus until today, an outspoken critic of Wilberforce. This was true not because I disbelieved in Wilberforce or underrated its work, but for exactly the opposite reason. From the first, I had for Wilberforce the very highest ideals: I wanted for it nothing cheap, secondhand, or inferior; I pictured growing up here a great university, not simply Negro, not simply Americans, but a university in the full sense of the learning with I had been connected for six years in the United States and in Europe. (p. 533)

Another study documenting the insiders' perspective of an HBCU is *The Morehouse Mystique: Lessons to Develop Black Men* (2009), whereby John H. Eaves provided a description of how Morehouse College provides an environment that is conducive to the academic, social, and spiritual growth of African American males. In it, he gave an encompassing look at Morehouse College including, history, significant figures (e.g., Martin Luther King, Jr. and Benjamin Mayes), current students, influential alumni, and others. Added context is provided in the framing of the "Morehouse Mystique" as Eaves presented the current status of Black males within education before describing how Morehouse initiates a process of transforming boys into men. The seven interrelated components of doing so include: (a) a rich legacy, (b) an air of expectancy, (c) self-esteem building through messaging, (d) mentoring faculty and staff, (e) a bond of brotherhood, (f) modeling, and (g) a climate of celebration.

The Morehouse Mystique: Lessons to Develop Black Men (Eaves, 2009) is a multi-method examination of an HBCU that utilized observations, artifact analysis (e.g., historical documents), and interviews used to ascertain knowledge of Black college university culture. Observations were used to uncover how professors encouraged a standard of excellence and self-respect within the classroom. For example, in one history class Eaves noted that the content was taught from an African American perspective and that all students were addressed by their surnames. Observations were also utilized to gather details about the uniqueness of cultural ceremonies within Morehouse College. The ceremonies observed included new student orientation, spirit night, new student

convocation, Founders' Day convocation, scholars' day assembly, baccalaureate, and commencement.

Similar to *The Morehouse Mystique: Lessons to Develop Black Men* penned by John Eaves (2009), *The Morehouse Mystique: Becoming a Doctor at the Nation's Newest African American Medical School* by Marybeth Gasman (2012) is a case study of the development of Morehouse school of medicine. Themes garnered from this exploration were strong mission, determined leadership, and interracial cooperation. However, this study did not delve into the culture of Morehouse Medical School, but provided a description of the history and context with which the school was established. Gasman also consulted an informant, Dr. Louis Sullivan, the first dean and president of the college, in order to gain an insiders perspective. By doing so, she was able to gain information about the behind-the-scenes politics regarding the administration of the medical school since its inception. With regard to this study, the most important highlight made by Gasman is the mission of Morehouse Medical School to increase the number of ethnic minority physicians and quality healthcare in communities of color as well as impoverished and rural communities.

Ethnographies: HBCU classrooms. The two aforementioned studies provided a broad overview of the culture and origins of HBCUs. Both utilized methods that can be associated with ethnography, but did not provide in depth analyses of the culture of HBCU classrooms. Coincidentally, a classroom ethnography located at Spelman College, sister school to Morehouse College, examined the manifestation of feminist

pedagogies (Maher & Tetreault, 2001). The setting for this study was a Women's Studies course taught by Beverly Gut-Sheftall, director of the Women's Studies program, and Johnnetta Cole, the first Black woman to be president of the Spelman College. Because of Dr. Cole's appointment as university president in 1989, Spelman was transitioning from being perceived as a high status Black College that achieved success through emulating Whiteness, to an image that highlighted the schools connectedness to the Black community. Using interviews to garner the perspective of faculty informants it was discovered that:

> If not for all teachers at Spelman, the most important feature of this new community ethos was its political epistemology: our participants found knowledge and truth in those stories and concepts that explicitly served the needs of the Black community. Knowledge was understood as serving a unified and cohesive African American community, against the expertise of White scholars, which was seen as racist and historically destructive of Black lives. (p. 47)

Aside from interviewing faculty informants, researchers were able to gather data from classroom observations and student informants.

Utilizing a methodology reflecting ethnography of speaking, Boone (2003) gained access to the culture of call-response in an HBCU classroom. Like all ethnographies, ethnography of speaking (i.e., ethnography of communication) "allows the researcher to gain access to implicit understandings associated with behaviors of people within a specific community by closely examining what the members of the

culture say and do to one another in the their natural environment" (Boone, 2003, p. 217). Data collection was accomplished through the usage of videotaping classroom interactions, fieldnotes of observations, and audiotaped interviews of the professor and students.

Videotapes were only used in instances where call-response took place. Videotapes and fieldnotes, which included descriptions of the setting, activities sequence of events, non-verbal/verbal behaviors, as well as the researchers own interpretations. The student participants selected to provide insiders perspective, were those who were the most vocal. The analysis of data was completed to determine the who, what, when, and where of call-response.

HBCU teacher education ethnographies. In an effort to show that everyone can benefit from the education provided at HBCUs, many institutions have highlighted diversity within their student body, faculty, and administration (Boone, 2003). Jenefred Davies (2007) conducted an ethnographic case study of the perceptions and experiences of Mexican American teacher candidates at an HBCU. Because she is a White female conducting research about Brown teacher-education students within an HBCU, Davies provided insight into her positionality and epistemology by acknowledging her Whiteness. In doing so, she critiqued a Black-White binary that failed to include the experiences of those who are Brown.

To sustain her methodology Davies employed a theoretical framework that was an amalgamation of the critical paradigm and interwoven conceptual perspectives,

similar to critical race theory (CRT). As the offspring of Critical Theory, CRT gives particular attention to the experiences and perspectives of people of color (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Utilizing this theoretical foundation, she was able to effectively uncover the perspective of marginalized ethnic minority population with a marginalized minority institution. Data collection consisted of interviews, small group forums, observations, fieldnotes, email exchanges, and member checks.

Unlike the study I am proposing, many of the ethnographies used in teacher education place only their emphasis on teacher education students. For example, Fierros (2009) conducted a study utilizing performance ethnography by having preservice teachers participate in reenactments of the Brown v. Board fallout. Additionally, there have been ethnographic studies that emphasized the experiences of students of color within teacher education. In a yearlong ethnographic and sociolinguistic study of female African American preservice teachers at a PWI, Haddix (2012) uncovered the counter-languages and deliberate silences utilized by these students. Urrieta (2007) used ethnographic methods coupled with life history interviews to examine the identity production of Chicana/o activists in a similar setting. Participants in the study included faculty and students in teacher education.

Ethnographies in PETE. With regard to physical education, ethnographies have been utilized to address issues of social justice within K-12 gymnasiums. Using ethnographic methods rooted in feminist post-structuralist theory Azzarito, Solmon, and Harrison (2006) observed how girls participated in or resisted physical education.

Although this study and others like it are indicative of social justice within physical education (Bain, 1985), others have used stereotypic and pejorative language to describe student participation in open gym at an "urban school" (Pope & O'Sullivan, 2003). I believe this is due to the failure of researchers to acknowledge their racialized epistemologies. Additionally, there are autoethnographic studies that focus on topics ranging from gender to the development of professional identities, but none that clearly emphasize ethnic diversity (Attard & Armour, 2005; Azzarito & Katzew, 2010; Berg, 2010). Overall, the majority of research in physical education is rooted in positivism; therefore the usage of ethnographic methods are few and far between (Bain, 1990a). Likewise, as shown above, very few studies using ethnographic methods have focused on the culture of the teacher education, instead attention has been given to the culture of the gymnasium.

Chapter Three: Method

Theoretical Framework

TSJ is one of the most trendy terms utilized by academics in education (Cochran-Smith, 2009). With widespread use and inconsistent definition, it can be argued that TSJ has been rendered meaningless, leaving social justice teaching practices vulnerable to scrutiny (Cochran-Smith, 2009; Zeichner, 2009). Mentioned earlier, one definition of teaching for social justice is "an umbrella term to cover projects that differ in their focus (e.g., culturally relevant pedagogy, antiracist pedagogy, intercultural teaching) but share the common aim of preparing teachers to recognize, name, and combat inequity in schools and society" (Spalding et al., 2010, p. 191). In another description, teacher education for social justice, Cochran-Smith (2009) emphasized four major premises:

1. Teacher education with an emphasis on social justice is more than methods. It is a coherent and intellectual approach to the preparation of teachers that acknowledges the social and political contexts in which teaching, learning, schooling and ideas about justice have been located historically while acknowledging the tensions among competing goals for education.
2. Teaching and teacher education are not apolitical endeavors.
3. The preparation of teachers is a place where educational change can be instantiated.
4. Teacher education for social justice is intended for all teacher education students.

Both theoretically and practically, TSJ also requires that those involved within the educational process examine and uncover privilege (Griffin & Jackson, 2011; Jackson & Solís, 1995). Ironically, the majority of research and writings about teaching for social justice, whether in teacher education or K-12 schooling have been disseminated from scholars and theorist representing many of the most privileged predominantly White institutions in the country. Very little research on the application of teacher education for social justice or TSJ is produced from the marginalized institutions. Marginalized institutions are those colleges and universities that are not recognized as prestigious by the mainstream (i.e. HBCUs). In spite of the fact that there may be accepted definitions of social justice in education, uniformity cannot be assumed in its application in all settings. It should be clear that I am not arguing against the universal application of social justice. However, I am drawing attention to the differentiated ways that "social justice" as a practice and theory is applied contingent upon context, thereby drastically changing its meaning. In other words, the way in which social justice is manifested is dependent on context.

Even though teaching for social justice has been a popularized term within and throughout education, very few studies have been conducted pertaining to teaching for social justice in PETE or physical education (Burden, Hodge, & Harrison, 2012). Unfortunately, many uses of would-be social justice teaching practices have not engaged beyond its relation to methods and lack critical theoretical foundations. For example, Flory and McCaughtry (2011) utilized a three part theorhetical framework known as the

cultural relevance cycle, consisting of knowledge of community dynamics, the influence of community dynamics on learning, and the implementation of strategies that reflect the cultural knowledge of communuties. The cultural relevance cycle approach to physical education serves as means for educators to develop effective teaching strategies, yet fails to emphasize or cultivate the development of critical consicousness in either the educators or students. Similarly, Hastie, Martin, and Buchanan (2006) employ postcolonial theory to underscore their attempt to use Step, a contemporary dance style that has roots in West Africa, as CRP in an urban school populated by mostly Black students. However, the study emphasized the increased cultural awareness of White teacher educators facilitating a Step curriculum rather than cultivating the connections made by students between the West African roots of Step and contemporary African American culture. In addition, another shortcoming of the aforementioned studies is that PETE scholars have yet to effectively develop a theory of physical education teacher education for social justice. As such, this study applied situated learning theory to uncover the various means through which social justice manifested within an HBCU's PETE program.

Situated learning theory. In an effort to give greater meaning to the nature of social justice, situated learning theory was used to provide a contextual understanding. Neither teaching nor culture occur within a vacuum, they are both subject to particular circumstances, time, social settings, locations, etc. To better understand these

circumstances, situated learning theory was utilized to make sense of data and foster triangulation.

> Situated learning focuses on learning as a social practice in social settings. In its most simplistic uses, the "situatedness" of learning means merely that learning takes place in particular sets of circumstances, in time and space. In addition, it may refer to the fact that learning is social as far as it may involve interactions among individual learners and others. (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 9)

In my analysis of data, considerations for the context or "situatedness" of the learning environment are present. Throughout the study, I remained reflexive about the status of HBCUs nationally, the status of Jackie Robinson University (JRU) (pseudonym) locally, and the status of PETE. All of which influenced how culture and pedagogy were manifested within the PETE classroom. This perspective also informed the type of data that is collected. Data used represented HBCUs at various levels to further inform how the culture of the classroom is part of a larger milieu of social justice.

What is the connection between situated learning theory and social justice/teacher education for social justice? Through the usage of situated learning, I was able to uncover how various forms of social justice are manifested within JRU. For example, caring, culturally relevant pedagogy, cultural sustainment, othermothering, and otherfathering are all forms of social justice present within the culture of JRU. I was intentional about my approach to looking for social justice and teacher education for

social justice but I did not develop an explicit framework for finding social justice. For example, in my observations I clearly recognized forms of culturally relevant pedagogy, but did not confirm culturally relevant pedagogy until done so first by participants.

Research Questions

How is social justice manifested within the culture of an HBCU's PETE program?

How is teacher education for social justice manifested within the culture of an HBCU's PETE program?

The site: Jackie Robinson University. Jackie Robinson University (JRU) is located in a large city—Capital City (pseudonym)—in a Southern state. As an HBCU, JRU has an enduring legacy of preparing teachers, the majority of whom are of color, by providing a nurturing and culturally sustaining space (Davies, 2007). Not unlike other HBCUs, JRU has a strong religious and abolitionist tradition and history. With an original mission to provide educational opportunities to the formerly enslaved and disenfranchised, it has maintained a Black identity while striving to meet the needs of all students, particularly ethnic minorities (*The Jackie Robinson University Legacy: A Historically Black Treasure,* 2007).

JRU is similar to other HBCUs in that it was the victim of the *1954 Brown v. Board* of education decision, leading to an exodus of African American students to other institutions of higher learning. In spite of the fact that at one time JRU was one of few means for African Americans within its region to receive a higher education, the after-

effects of integration have led to the university emphasizing diversity through the recruitment of international students and ethnic minorities other than African Americans. While the majority of students identify as African American, in recent years JRU has seen a significant increase in the number Hispanic students ("The NCES Fast Facts," 2013). The vast majority of students, regardless of ethnic or racial identification, receive aid for tuition in the form of grants or loans("The NCES Fast Facts," 2013). Unlike the other universities in the region, students who attended JRU are more likely to come from families having a low socio-economic status. JRU awards undergraduates 4-year degrees in business, education, the humanities, natural sciences, social sciences, and STEM related majors. A multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, and multi-faith institution, the university welcomes students of all ages, races, and religions (Davies, 2007).

JRU is a small university serving approximately 900 students. It is located in the midst of larger institutions of higher education. JRU is overshadowed by the larger state supported Capital City University (CCU), which is also located in Capital City along with several other universities and a community college. Nevertheless, JRU is the oldest university in the region and it is often referred to as "The Historic Jackie Robinson University." Located in a city where the population and economy continue to grow, JRU is situated on the "East Side" of the interstate highway that has traditionally represented the proverbial "train tracks," separating communities of color from White communities, and the affluent from the economically disenfranchised. Due to the economic boom

within Capital City, many of the Black and Brown residents who used to live on the East Side have been systematically forced into the suburbs because of gentrification.

Research Design

In my search for social justice at JRU, ethnographic methods and methodology were utilized. Specific methods included: observations of various classrooms and events sponsored by the university; interviews with key informants who were students, faculty, and staff; and the compilation and analysis of various artifacts as a means of grounding my work in tangible cultural manifestations produced by the institution. After spending nearly two years as a participant observer within JRU, I was able to build relationships with people who provided insight into how social justice and teacher education for social justice are manifested within JRU.

What is ethnography? In Jules Verne's classic tale Journey to The Center of The Earth (1992), protagonists Lindenbock and Axel cracked the coded language left by alchemist Arne Saknussemm that served as map to the center of the earth. Their eventful journey was full of danger, discovery, triumphs, and trials. In a similar way, I used ethnographic methods and methodology to create and "crack" codes as I journeyed to the center of an unfamiliar culture. Although I had been familiar with HBCUs and JRU, to effectively conduct this ethnography it was necessary for me to take a stance of unfamiliarity.

Ethnography can be defined as a process of discovering and defining culture and the study of groups of people as they go about their everyday lives (Emerson, Fretz, &

Shaw, 2011; McCurdy, Spradley, & Shandy, 2004). Nevertheless, the complex nature and history of the formal approach of acquiring cultural knowledge, known as ethnography, required a more complicated, well-inspected definition. For instance, in this study, it was not my position that the role of the researcher is to discover or define culture; rather I uncovered and let culture be defined by those within it. Thus a more appropriate description of ethnographic research is a systematic way of making sense of culture, involving the study of groups and people as they go about their everyday lives (Emerson et al., 2011).

Ethnography is also defined in terms of product and process. Within ethnography, there are two primary interconnected activities that are essential to ethnographic research: participation in an unfamiliar context or culture and the creation of written accounts based upon participation in such a context or culture (Emerson et al., 2011). Defined as a process, ethnography is not a matter of methods, but rather an intellectual approach in the application of theory to understand the meaning, concepts, and constructs of a particular culture (Geertz, 1973).

Passivity is not ethnography. In the classic example, Clifford Geertz and his wife gained rapport with Balinese cock fighters by fleeing with the locals when police officers attempted to raid a tournament (Geertz, 1972). Had they not fled with the locals they would not have been accepted as honorary members of the group. Doing so allowed Geertz and his wife to establish trustworthy relationships with their informants. Through gaining rapport ethnographers can achieve the closeness necessary to become outsiders-

within foreign cultures (Marcus, 1998). Rapport is a catalyst for immersion that allows researchers to engage in the social world they want to study. After developing rapport, I easily became immersed within the unfamiliar culture of JRU. As an immersed participant, I learned the requirements of membership necessary for becoming part of an unfamiliar world and began to experience events and meanings relative to that of a natural members experience (Adler & Adler, 1987).

Culture. In order to understand what ethnography is, one must understand what ethnography is about. In other words, one must comprehend the meaning of culture in order to understand how researchers systematically gain knowledge of meaning within culture. The term culture, as originally defined by British anthropologist E. B. Tylor, can be described as " the complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (Tylor, 1871, p. 1). Tylor is not alone in his definition of culture. Others have described culture as "knowledge that is learned and shared that people use to generate behavior and interpret experience" (McCurdy et al., 2004, p. 5), "the total way of life of a group of people" (Kluckhohn, 1959). Citing R.Williams(1983), Storey (2009) suggested that culture can be defined in reference to intellectual, spiritual, and aesthetic factors, a particular way of life, or the way in which meaning is produced and applied to phenomena. Culture has also been defined as "knowledge that is learned and shared and that people use to generate behavior and interpret experience" (McCurdy et al., 2004, p. 5). Since culture is not quantifiable, positivistic methodologies are inadequate when

examining cultural phenomenon, thus ethnography is an ideal tool for the exploration and description of social realities as they pertain to culture.

Unfortunately, the usage of culture has become problematic. Similar to social justice, widespread and colloquial use of the term culture, definitions have become convoluted in that the term has been used synonymously with race and ethnicity (Betancourt & López, 1993; Phinney, 1996). Understanding that race, ethnicity, and culture are interrelated but not equivalent was especially important because this study took place in a setting that had been shaped by the construct of race. Ethnicity was also a consideration because it was not held constant throughout the study (Phinney, 1996). In other words, the researcher, participants, and informants did not have the same ethnic backgrounds. As a result, when conducting interviews and observations I accounted for potential ethnic differences between my participants and myself. Considerations such as these are particularly important as a researcher coming from a PWI investigating the unique culture of an HBCU.

HBCU culture. What is known about the culture of HBCUs? Some might argue that these institutions have the best bands and best names for marching bands; for example: the Blue and Gold Marching Machine, The Red Sea of Sound, The Sonic Boom of the South, and more. Homecomings are phenomena that are unmatched within culture of higher education, from the Hollywood star-studded annual celebration at the Mecca (Howard University) to #GHOE, The Greatest Homecoming on Earth, at North

Carolina Agricultural &Technical State University, to the joint celebration at Spelhouse (i.e., Spelman and Morehouse Colleges) (Blaze, 2014; Carter, 2012).

Beyond the pageantry and popularity of homecomings, HBCUs are known for providing opportunities for students that otherwise would not have access to education (Nelms, 2010), these institutions have been seen as essential to the uplift of oppressed groups, particularly African Americans (Washington, 2010). Or is the culture of HBCUs that of the Black elite, where the Black Ivy league institutions attract the upper echelon of the Black community (L. Graham, 2000)? Others would argue that these institutions are the incubators of capitulating Black leaders who remain apolitical in the midst of the dominant power structure (DuBois, 1994).

There are many perspectives of Black colleges that shape the perception of these institutions. In seeking to explore the culture of an HBCU and a specific program within such an institution, ethnographic methods and methodology allowed me to uncover culture from the inside. By placing myself within the context of the PETE program, I was afforded the opportunity to get the insiders'—those within the community—perspectives of the occurrences within their own cultural space. Doing so allowed me to move beyond the stereotypical and superficial notions of HBCU culture mentioned in the paragraph above. Using ethnographic methods, an abstract concept like culture can be the unit of analysis. An added benefit is that culture can be presented in a complex multifaceted manner that is not stereotypic (Matsumoto, 2006). While there are limited examples of ethnographies in higher education classrooms (Ladson-Billings, 2001),

ethnographic methods have been used to study the culture of schools and classrooms (Ferguson, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 1995b; Pollock, 2005).

Tacit vs. explicit. The examples of culture provided at the beginning of the section titled HBCU Culture (i.e., bands, homecomings, etc.) are all explicit cultural manifestations. Explicit meaning that they are easily and superficially recognizable. By invoking an explicit approach to ethnography researchers examine that which is easily defined and recognized, whereas tacit culture is represented by that which is taken for granted and difficult to define (McCurdy et al., 2004). Tacit culture is less easily identifiable than explicit; it is often the cultural knowledge that people do not put into words. For example, at JRU a representation of explicit culture is the Bull mascot. A tacit expression of the culture would be the symbolic meaning of the Bull mascot.

Emic vs. etic. When attempting to ascertain a greater understanding of explicit and implicit culture, considerations were made for both emic and etic perspectives. Mentioned earlier, my stance toward the culture of JRU was one that privileged the perspective of those who were members of the JRU community. This best aligns with what is known as the emic perspective, where what is deemed to be valid and true is what members of the culture have deemed to be so (Willis, 2007). Admittedly, I did not begin this investigation as a researcher employing an emic perspective; rather I gradually transitioned from etic to emic as I became more immersed within the community. The etic perspective is that which determined truth from the perspective of the watcher.

The ethical stance I took as a researcher did not allow me to assume that by virtue of my presence in the classroom I would have gained the trust and confidence of my participants and informants. Thus, I did not assume that I had access to the emic perspective. However, given that there were ethical concerns about the presumptive nature of etic perspectives (Smith, 1999), I took an etic approach that demonstrated deference by assuming that I was not an expert but rather a student. One of the most important components of transitioning from the etic to emic perspective is the selection of participants willing and able to share their experiences.

Participant selection. A sample of HBCUs was selected using a list of current schools provided by the White House Initiative on HBCUs ("What is an HBCU?," n.d.). This list of universities was then narrowed to those with PETE programs, as determined by browsing the website of each university. Afterwards, a recruitment email was sent to each faculty member within his or her respective PETE program. This recruitment email also requested that potential participants share the message with others that met the sampling criteria. Initially, five faculty members (PETE programs) agreed to participate in the study, but four were excluded from the study because of distance. It was not feasible to conduct the proposed study in another region or state, what was initially a purposive sample became a sample of convenience (Marshall & Rossman, 2011).

The key informant in this study was initially the interim Dean of Education, who during the period of recruitment was department chair and professor in the kinesiology department, Dr. Rose (pseudonym). After transitioning from department chair to Dean

of Education, Dr. Rose eventually left JRU all together. Her replacement as department chair, Dr. Jimenez (pseudonym), then became my key informant. As the current kinesiology department chair, Dr. Jimenez is wearing many hats, including professor, mentor, administrator, and committee member. This is not an uncommon experience for professors at small universities or HBCUs. As this study evolved it was necessary to recruit more informants from within JRU. These informants included: Dr. Calvin, an assistant professor who specialized in Multicultural Special Education; Lucy, a first generation college student in the department kinesiology of Mexican American descent; Wallace, a Black man who was a non-traditional student in the department of kinesiology; Shania, a Black woman who was a student in the department of kinesiology and president of the majors club; and Philly a Black man who was an underachieving student within the department of kinesiology. Aside from selecting participants who met the research criteria, it was important that I developed rapport with the people and the community that made up JRU.

Gaining entrance and reciprocity. As a graduate of an HBCU, I feel a certain responsibility to give back to these institutions, as they have become neglected staples within the Black community. Not realizing that I would eventually be conducting research, let alone an ethnography, I had unknowingly begun to establish reciprocity at JRU my first semester as a graduate student by reaching out to Dr. Rose in the fall of 2010 for purposes of talking to her students about pursuing graduate degrees (Smith, 1999). After visiting her classes numerous times, in the fall of 2011 I began collecting

pilot data after establishing a relationship with her and the students in the department. My relationship with the current department chair was easily established because of prior academic experiences with one another. Although my key informant changed, reciprocity remained a large component of my ability to be within the culture of the kinesiology program. After the selection of participants and development of reciprocity, I applied a well thought out and opportunistic data collection plan.

Data Collection

Participant observation. Consistent with the rationale for this study, ethnographic methods and methodology provided insight into the educational culture of a historically Black PETE program, and allowed for my transition from the outsider perspective to the point of view of those within the culture. This perspective was attained through continuous observation of and participation in Introduction to Healthy Behaviors (IHB), Elementary Physical Education Teaching Methods (EPETM), and an Introduction to Adapted Physical Education (APE) course offered in the kinesiology department at JRU. All three courses are required in the PETE program except that IHB—one of two required healthy living course options for all students attending JRU. Like the other course mentioned IHB is taught by Dr. Jimenez and many students pursuing degrees in PETE were enrolled.

The primary focus of my observations was the classroom culture of courses taught by Dr. Jimenez and Dr. Calvin; this included topics discussed, teachable moments (as verified by Dr. Jimenez), body movements, lecturing vs. small group discussions,

student commentaries, seating patterns, clothing, and Dr. Jimenez's pedagogical style. With regard to Dr. Jimenez's pedagogical style, I explored how social justice was addressed in everyday ways. As a participant observer in Dr. Jimenez's EPETM class, I made sure to position myself so that I could view nearly everyone in the class without appearing to be a separate fixture from the students in the classroom. In cases where students were working in small groups, sometimes I joined groups in order to get a better understanding of how students interacted with each other. In other cases, I sat back and observed the classroom as a whole. This allowed me to distinguish possible differences in how Dr. Jimenez interacted with students as an entire class and in small groups. By sitting among the students, I was able to listen to conversations, participate in discussions, ask, and answer questions pertaining to the lessons.

Because many of the courses offered within a PETE program and Kinesiology Department include physical-activity components, it was not always feasible for me to take fieldnotes as I observed. These settings required that I fully participate instead of passively observe. Instances such as these required that I audio-record or write observations from memory immediately after class.

Participant observations and other methods were divided into five phases of data analysis and collection:

Phase One

During this phase, data collection took place in the fall of 2012. Unlike the other phases, during this period I observed two different courses, EPETM and IHB. These two

courses are distinct from one another. EPETM was designed for Kinesiology Majors and IHB is one of two required health courses for all students. As an extension of classroom observations, I also attended initial meetings for the Kinesiology club. This phase began with an informal interview of Dr. Jimenez—a key informant—and ended with a formal interview. Additionally, several informal interviews took place with students and faculty including one formal interview with Lydia—a student majoring in physical education.

Phase Two

This phase of data-collection took place in the fall of 2013. Unlike the previous phase, the course I observed was the EPETM. In addition to observations in the classroom, I began to observe events outside of the classroom setting. For example, as suggested by Dr. Jimenez I attended a community panel discussion themed around the death of Trayvon Martin. Additionally, I began to spend time doing observations in public areas including the library, courtyard, and chapel. On one occasion, at the beginning of the semester, I was asked to participate on a panel for students in the IHB course. In addition to being an act of reciprocity, this offered a different vantage point of observation because instead of sitting among the students, I and the other panelist were the focal point of the lesson. Like the previous phase, several formal and informal interviews took place concerning events and courses.

Phase Three

This phase took place in the spring of 2014. Like phase 2, I only observed one course, *Introduction to Adapted Physical Education*, a required course for physical

education majors. Like the previous phase, I began to immerse myself in other aspects of JRU besides classes offered in the PETE program. For example, I participated in the annual Martin Luther King, Jr. Day parade that culminates with a fall festival at JRU. I attended two basketball games, one featuring men and the other featuring women, the Friday before homecoming. Additionally, the annual Black History Carter G. Woodson Lecture where Dr. Jimenez invited a guest speaker whose research emphasized areas of social justice. Consistent with the other phases, formal and informal interviews took place throughout this phase. However, I also utilized video-cued methodology.

In addition to being a participant-observer in specific PETE classrooms and university-sponsored events, I was able gather data from an *Introduction to Education* course taught by Dr. Calvin by overhearing classroom conversation as I sat in the hall outside of Dr. Jimenez's office.

Audio/video recording. As a lone ethnographer, I was not be able to capture every detail of every class that I observed; given this limitation the majority of lessons observed were audio recorded and/or video recorded using a laptop computer, voice recorder, or video camera. Video recordings were later used as data and as interview prompts.

Justification. Each phase of data collection mentioned above fits strategically within my usage of situated learning theory, this undergirds my methodological approach to data collection. As such, data collection occurred within phases and levels. Observations made within the APE and EPETM courses accounted for the PETE

program level. Observations of Kinesiology Club meetings and the IHB course accounted for the broader Kinesiology departmental level, where the PETE program is located. My participation and observation of events held at JRU such as basketball games, the panel discussion about the death of Trayvon Martin, and the Carter G. Woodson Lecture represent data at the university level, where the Kinesiology program is located. Lastly, data collected during the Martin Luther King, Jr. Day parade and festival represent data collected emphasizing JRU's role in the broader community.

Phase Four

This phase overlapped with the first three. This phase of data collection was unique because it was not limited by a specific timeframe. Data collected in the fourth phase represented both the larger context and cultural manifestation of JRU as well as specific PETE classroom settings. Specifically, phase four of data collection was the accumulation of artifacts from within JRU.

Artifacts. Artifacts are also key entities for understanding semiotic representations of culture. Along with ethnographic interviews, artifacts are used to bolster analysis of fieldnotes. Artifacts that were collected included PowerPoint presentations, videos shown in class, images drawn on the white board, textbooks, and any other tangible cultural representations. The collection of artifacts occurred in phases 1-3 of this study. The artifacts utilized in this study included the following:

1. Jackie Robinson University Alumni Legacy Book

2. Documents from Dr. Jimenez's courses including Slide Shows, Worksheets, Syllabi, pictures of the class
3. YouTube Videos shown in Dr. Jimenez's class
4. The JRU Website
5. JRU annual fact book
6. Pictures of the Library

Fieldnotes. Fieldnotes were structured in a way that represented both my physical and methodological positioning. For example, each day I entered the classroom I created a map of where people sat within the class, including myself. This was done to not only establish continuity with the mapping portion of my fieldnotes, but to demonstrate the consistency of my physical positioning with the class. At the beginning of each class, I had the same vantage point. As I progressed through the study, it was necessary to change my positioning within the classroom. Fieldnotes also reflected my stance, audience, and agenda as a researcher (Emerson et al., 2011). As a participant observer using situated learning theory, my stance led me to emphasize pedagogy within a larger context. My primary focus was how Dr. Jimenez taught within the classroom. Fieldnotes of observations made within the classroom or gymnasium were structured to represent informal content (teachable moments), delivery, and curriculum. Fieldnotes that emphasized my observations of students were categorized based upon whether or not students operated as an entire class or small groups. Initially, the audience for which I was writing my fieldnotes was the researcher (myself).

Fieldnotes were recorded using a notepad or a laptop computer. Each set of notes included the date, course name, and number of students of within each class. Organizing fieldnotes like this aided in the organization of artifacts, such as pictures, diagrams, and PowerPoint presentations included within each lesson. Artifacts were easily attached to the date and course they were associated.

Fieldnotes alone did not provide the necessary information to present an insider's perspective of a particular social world or culture. During this study, as with all ethnographies, it was essential that I considered member meaning in my analysis of the reality in which they resided. In other words, fieldnotes without the incorporation of meaning from the participants are incomplete. Fieldnotes were indicative of my reflexivity as a graduate student attending one of the wealthiest universities in the nation observing a Black institution with significantly less resources. For this reason, it was important that I restrained my preconceptions about what I deem to be worthy of notation or observation.

Ethnographic interviews. In order to accentuate the meaning ascribed in my fieldnotes, I utilized ethnographic interviews. Data gathered from interviews did not supersede those observed in the context of the classroom, but were used to enhance member meaning as I established a code in search of themes. Ethnographic interviews were an essential component of my transition from etic to emic. Interviewing allowed me to not only observe others but also learn about the interior experiences of other

people (Weiss, 1995). Interviews added to the thickness of the overall data through the usage of insight provided by participants.

Formal interview questions were created through the usage of interview guides that structured questions such that they aligned with the methodology proposed for this study. For the purposes of this study the type of interviews employed were planned, spontaneous, semi-structured, and in-depth (Patton, 1990). Thus, not all interviews utilized a formal guide. "Ethnographic interviewing is not simply doing an interview. Instead, it is an elaborate system of a series of interviews structured to elicit insiders' cultural knowledge" (Marshall & Rossman, 2006, p. 104). Some questions were not structured in a way that only elicited explicit information, but rather they were structured as if I was a new employee or student at the university (McCurdy et al., 2004).

Video cued methodology. To further enhance interview data, a video cued approach to ethnographic methodology was utilized. Although a holistic view of the HBCU context was essential to answering both research questions, the primary focus of video cued methodology was to garner better understanding of the culture of the PETE classroom. This approach to ethnography is similar to that which has been used to explore and describe the culture of early childhood classrooms (Adair, 2011; Tobin, Hsueh, & Karasawa, 2009).

For example, during my final interview with Dr. Jimenez, using two of the films made from his *Introduction to APE* course, he was able to give insight into the typical PETE classroom in this setting. Of these films, Dr. Jimenez determined if these were

representative of his teaching. Afterwards, I reviewed the selected films in order to develop questions pertaining to his teaching and occurrences within the lesson. Once questions were developed, Dr. Jimenez was interviewed regarding the events that occurred during his lesson.

This interview was an essential component in determining themes and patterns that pertain to social justice within the class. Although I had already developed an interview protocol, the scenes in the video functioned as interview questions prompting discussions around topics connected with social justice and the HBCU PETE classroom (Adair, 2011). For example, video-cued ethnography was essential to gathering information regarding *The Gap* among students and their divisions into affiliated enclaves—mentioned in chapter four. As part of his pedagogy, Dr. Jimenez incorporated YouTube videos and education documentaries into his lessons. With regard to these videos, interview questions were asked regarding his selections.

Phase Five

Fieldnotes. Data analysis began with fieldnotes. The first step in doing so was to read all of the fieldnotes as a corpus (Emerson et al., 2011). The initial notes taken elicited memories that I had not originally included in the first draft of fieldnotes. Thus, I was able to add detail to fieldnotes as I read them. During this process, I also listened to audio recording or video recordings of specific instances in or order to add detail to the fieldnotes taken. Specifically, I was able to add details such as students' names, ethnicities, or specific majors, which I was not initially aware.

Next, I utilized an open coding approach where I sifted through notes and categorized segments of field notes using highlights and notes. During this phase, I began to notice synonymous words or phrases that could be categorized together. Afterwards, focused coding was utilized. Focused coding is a highly detailed line-by-line analysis of selected notes (Emerson et al., 2011). This process allowed me to notice themes and subthemes that did not initially seem to fit within previous categories.

Interviews. Following the analysis of fieldnotes, interviews were analyzed through immersion, a process whereby researchers read transcriptions multiple times, thus allowing for the accumulation of relevant themes (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). Immersion occurred in the following steps. First, I listened to recordings of each interview. Next, I listened to each interview as I transcribed them. After each transcription was completed, I read each interview a minimum of 10 times. Once this was completed, I reviewed the interview data as a complete corpus. Afterwards, transcriptions were sent to participants via email for edits and clarification. Member checks also occurred as informal follow up interviews to discuss data found with interview and observations. Subsequently, transcripts were read again as a data set with purpose of identifying themes. Then I utilized focused coding to further validate, gather, or interpret the themes. The process of identifying and validating themes that did not occur independent of the themes and codes elicited by analysis of fieldnotes. Themes from reviewed transcripts were then narrowed and consolidated. After data were

analyzed separately, triangulation was used to determine how the data made sense together.

Triangulation. Good research requires investigators to utilize triangulation, through multiple methods and data sources, as a means to support the validity of their findings (Mathison, 1988). Within this study methodological triangulation, or the usage of multiple methods (Artifact Analysis, Interviews, and Observations) was used not only to validate findings, but to help make sense of specific social phenomena, in this case the manifestations of social justice, within JRU (Mathison, 1988). Methods were employed in the following order: observations, interviews, and artifact analysis. However, after being immersed in each data set, it made methodological sense to privilege the institution as it relates to the individuals who operate within it. Therefore, artifacts representing the institution (i.e., mission and vision statement, JRU Alumni Legacy Book, etc.) were used as the foundation for the way that I interpreted much of my data. This methodological stance is in alignment with the theoretical framework of situated learning theory. For example, the mission and vision statement represent the institution, observations represent the PETE program, and interviews represent the individuals within that program.

Data analysis occurred through immersion in the data. This meant that I continuously reviewed artifacts, fieldnotes, audio-notes, transcriptions, and artifacts. After I immersed myself in the data, themes and categories were created based upon distinguishable patterns. Next, I created a code or "formal representation of analytic

thinking" as a means of further organizing the data (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). Once, I developed a code for the data, participants were asked to member-check to confirm or provide an alternative understanding (Marshall & Rossman, 2006).

Epistemological statement. At this critical juncture of my life, I must admit that my perspective on education has changed over the past three years. Change, however, does not suggest that my views of education have made a dramatic paradigm shift. Rather, change is descriptive of the development of a latent epistemology that has burgeoned during my time as a doctoral student. Asking questions has always been in my nature. For a very long time I have questioned the purpose of education and the way in which society has been structured.

In my K-17 experiences, explicit conversations about racism, oppression, class, gender, and other areas of social justice were either in the margin or temporary moments in the curricula or at least I perceived them as such. Hence, there have been times where I have been untrusting or critical of my education. After my first year of graduate school, I had become unfairly critical of my own undergraduate experiences. As alumnus of an HBCU, I never once heard professors mention the words "social justice." With all the celebrated civil rights lineage, why didn't I learn about anti-racist pedagogy at my HBCU; why didn't I learn about culturally relevant pedagogy at my HBCU; and why did I learn about the contributions of other othered people to the history of civil rights in education at my White school, The University of Texas at Austin (UT), and not my HBCU? Nevertheless, the reality is that a fish in water is not always aware of its

environment. Concepts like social justice, inclusion, culturally relevant pedagogy, anti-racist teaching, and others are perhaps unstated realities within an HBCU that are rooted in the history and identity of these institutions.

Although there was a time when I was unfairly critical of my education at an HBCU, I have always recognized that not until arriving at my Black College was I labeled a "good student." As a "good student," I received all of the benefits that come along with it, awards, recognition, travel opportunities, and encouragement to attend graduate school. Therefore, as a student of education, confronting the reality that I would not be here if not for my Black College has been a bipolar process, filled with highs and lows. The state of "being here" is not only a reference to being in graduate school at UT, but also a reference to the realization that I have arrived as a "good student." My ability to function at my White school, UT, the sense of pride that I matriculated from a Black College, and the notion that something labeled as a Black institution produced something good (Me) have been central to my evolving epistemology.

Confronting what was once an epistemology of confusion or conflict toward my education is paramount. Researchers are often encouraged to explore topics or issues that reflect their passions. As such, I decided to explore the meaning of social justice within an HBCU. Because of my love for Black Colleges, and the lack of awareness about how I have experienced social justice, the need to separate myself emotionally from the process is vital. It is perhaps unfair to compare my experiences at my White

school to those have occurred in own my experience at an HBCU and those I observed in the proposed study.

Chapter Four: Standing in The Gap

Introduction

Chapter four is organized in the following way. Through an understanding of the context or situatedness of JRU, the theme of The Gap is presented in this chapter. First, I begin with a historical description of the relationship between the survival of JRU and its socially just mission to educate the formerly enslaved. Next, I delve into the conditions with which the students who attend JRU are produced (i.e., The Achievement Gap). Following an analysis of the achievement gap, the reader is provided with a contemporary understanding of how survival and the provision of higher education for disenfranchised students has sustained JRU, but has also created a gap between high achieving students and low achieving students within JRU. This gap is reflective of society. The most prominent example of The Gap within the institution is the divide between high achieving students and low achieving students. Highlighted in the next section are student perspectives on the divide between high achieving and low achieving students and the chasms between the student body and the institution. This perspective of The Gap between students also exists in the eyes of two faculty members within JRU. Faculty members provide their perspectives on the tensions within the institution. Veiled within this chapter is also the subtheme of PWI vs. HBCUs. Each of the informants make mention of a perceived experience or lived experience at Capital City University or another predominantly White institution compared to that of JRU. These comparisons

offer both positive and negative implications for the perception of these two types of institutions.

The purposes of this chapter are to present the cultural, social, and historical context for which social justice is manifested within JRU. As such, this chapter is written combining results and discussion, a pairing of findings and reasoning that serve to provide greater understanding of how and why social justice exists at JRU. To do this effectively it was important that I present a narrative of how the current JRU is connected with the historical JRU by creating a tapestry of the social milieus both past and present that have influenced the sociopolitical context and culture of the institution. Using a framework of analysis supported by situated learning theory (J. R. Anderson, Reder, & Simon, 1996), this chapter gives a layered approach to understanding JRU. For example, in some instances references are made to JRU as a singular institution within a particular community. In other instances JRU is framed within the broader social context of the Black community, HBCUs, and other Black institutions. The layered approach is also apparent as the theme of The Gap presents itself in the context of HBCUs as a whole, JRU as an individual institution, within the college of education, the department of kinesiology, and specific classroom settings.

In essence, this chapter presents the conditions with which social justice occurs in relation to the existence of JRU, given the context with which it resides. As such, a secondary function of this chapter is to introduce social justice within JRU as the opportunities provided by the institution for those who otherwise would not have them.

Interestingly, the survival of JRU is connected to its history of providing opportunities. Thus at the institutional level, survival is a form of social justice. If JRU were not present to provide opportunities for education and professional advancement, some faculty and students would be more limited than they already are. The trope of opportunity is a consistent manifestation of social justice historically and contemporarily and among faculty, students, and administrators.

The chapter fills a gap within the discourse of social justice and teacher education for social justice by emphasizing the role these concepts play in (physical education) teacher education. Additionally, it sheds light on the experiences of teacher educators of color preparing preservice teachers of color. Unlike the popular social justice discourse, which highlights the experiences of scholar teachers educating for social justice in predominantly White settings, within JRU social justice—in this case standing in The Gap—has deep historical roots. Social justice and teacher education for social justice are not relegated to novelty courses taught by faculty of color (K. D. Brown, 2012), rather the presence of social justice at JRU is connected to the existence of the institution. This chapter also serves to provide context for the pedagogy of Drs. Jimenez and Calvin—discussed in chapter five—where they both are intentional in acknowledging the situatedness of their teaching. Therefore, it is important to highlight The Gap as a space where social justice can take place.

A History of Social Justice and Survival

> The people of the land practice extortion and commit robbery; they oppress the poor and needy and mistreat the foreigner, denying them justice. I looked for someone among them who would build up the wall and stand before me in the gap on behalf of the land so I would not have to destroy it, but I found no one. So I will pour out my wrath on them and consume them with my fiery anger, bringing down on their own heads all they have done, declares the Sovereign Lord. Ezek: 22:29-31

As far back as the 1830s, in the midst of oppression, racial violence, poverty, de jure segregation, and other political factors, making it difficult to educate and uplift formerly enslaved Black Americans, JRU, like many other historically Black institutions (i.e., churches and schools), interceded. Despite the confluence of factors designed to undermine the education of Black Americans, JRU and other HBCUs, stood in *The Gap*, by providing the security of family like environments, sheltering those with the desire for education from a potentially violent cultural ethos that served as the backdrop for the Jim Crow South. Predating the existence of the first HBCUs, there had been stark opposition to the institutionalization of education for Black Americans. The most glaring of which were slave codes that made literacy among the enslaved taboo (Veney, 2002). In essence, the modern day narrative that questions the relevance of these institutions is nothing new. It is representative of the reification of forces looking to undermine the state of Black education.

Given this circumstance, JRU has creatively found ways to maintain its existence in an effort to intervene on behalf of those with limited opportunities for education. Rare, but not unique among HBCUs, JRU is one of the few institutions that began as two separate entities. Sojourner Truth College was originally established in the late 1800s for the education of Black women. Sojourner Truth College's brother institution, The Fredrick Douglas Institute, was also established in the same period as a coeducational institution providing elementary, secondary, and college training. The two parent schools that would eventually merge to become JRU were originally founded and supported by northern White philanthropist with religious affiliations. Thus along with a specific mission to educate Black Americans in the era following reconstruction, a focus on the development of Christian values has been inherent within the institution from its inception. This is consistent with the Black Church's role in promoting social justice.

Mentioned earlier, the condition with which these HBCUs emerged, merged, and continue to exist is reflective of a survival narrative that has defined HBCUs since their beginnings. In the early history of JRU one of the original buildings, a Black Methodist church, designated for the use of educating Black Americans was burned down in a racially motivated terrorist attack. Despite the destruction of the building, a new facility was erected shortly thereafter.

> This was, though, a time during which violent intimidation of Blacks was not that rare… It was [a] Saturday morning in April, near 4:00 a.m. that the cry of "fire" awakened the Royce family [pseudonym]. Flames engulfed the church the

> Royce [family] leased the house to the school. There was no chance to save the relatively new frame on the building–only the tables and seats. In the early dawn, the reaction of the church pastor and members witnessing the fire was one of despair. Later that day, however, the Royce's hired two carpenters. With a corps of many [B]lack volunteers, they were miraculously able to ready a building for Sunday services the next day. On Monday the school opened and continued its program. (*The Jackie Robinson University Legacy: A Historically Black Treasure*, 2007, p. 49)

This account of an attempt to destroy what would eventually become an institution of higher learning for Black Americans is not unique to Jackie Robinson University. It is also indicative of the Black communities desire for education and value of religious institutions. The prevailing ideologies undergirding race and the education Black Americans in the late 1800s and early 1900s played an important role in the selection of the location of both Sojourner Truth College and The Fredrick Douglas Institute. Sojourner Truth College was originally established in another southern city but because Capital City, the current location of JRU was relatively more progressive, it was determined that it would be a better location.

Fast-forward to the 1950s in the midst of fiscal strife Sojourner Truth College and The Fredrick Douglas Institute, combined in an effort to maintain the existence of both institutions. According to alumni accounts, the existence of Jackie Robinson University can divided into two distinct eras. The first being the pre-

integration/premerger era, that took place between end of the late 1800s and the 1960s, and the second occurring after the merger and at the beginning of integration. Between these two eras, the description of the academic expectations and students has subtle yet stark contrasts. During the pre-integration/premerger era, the expectation of students had been described as not sacrificing academic rigor despite the need for enrollment. In the late 1800s, the perception of The Fredrick Douglas Institute was that "'a grand future was apparent.' The school motto was, 'Not Quantity but Quality'—not large numbers, but good students" (*The Jackie Robinson University Legacy: A Historically Black Treasure*, 2007, p. 11). Immediately following the *Brown v. Board of education* decision JRU experienced a period of erratic enrollment. JRU has faced and continues to face two major challenges since the merging of Sojourner Truth College and The Fredrick Douglas Institute and integration, "achieving financial stability and softening the impact of desegregation on enrollments" (*The Jackie Robinson University Legacy: A Historically Black Treasure*, 2007, p. 11). The modern day JRU is not alone in its struggle to enroll students. In an effort to meet enrollment demands needed to sustain the institution, the modern day JRU has taken steps to diversify. As such, there is a growing population of Latina/o students attending the university. Latino/a students comprise nearly 20% of the student population at JRU. The recruitment of Latino/a students was part of cumulative effort to rescue the institution from bankruptcy more than a decade ago. "As the demographics of the country change, there are more students who are not African Americans that are facing the same access issues. As an institution we are

responding to the needs of those student," says a high-ranking administrator. Although not the norm, JRU has a history of admitting students from Spanish speaking countries (*The Jackie Robinson University Legacy: A Historically Black Treasure*, 2007).

HBCUs have suffered tremendously because of policies promoting integration within higher education. The results have been a mass exodus of students, faculty, and potential resources (Jones, 1991). Before the widespread integration of higher education most of the best and brightest Black students attended HBCUs. Not to suggest that HBCUs are deprived of talent, but those students who are considered the best, brightest, or most prepared for college are now spread among HBCUs, PWIs, and other minority serving institutions. The loss of high achieving students and faculty within HBCUs has been compared to the brain drain of the African continent as a result of slave trade (Veney, 2002).

Ironically, JRU, like many other HBCUs, has strong historical ties to integration and the Civil Rights Movement. Those who have been affiliated with the institution have been civil rights icons in areas such as athletics, education, and politics. A graduate of JRU was the first person to earn a Law Degree from Capital City University (CCU), a publically funded flagship institution located in the same state. A former president of the Sojourner Truth College, Beatrice Mitchell, one of the last before the merger, was a charter member of the Capital City chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Much like other HBCUs, JRU has not overcome the stigma of being labeled a Black institution. Ironically, the terms Black or

Negro are used to describe the university's origins, while also serving as an indication of its history of maintaining a high quality education for its students.

Unfortunately, the historical expectations of JRU are not consistent with the historical conditions that have led to the current state of the institution. The integration of educational institutions in America has more appropriately been described as one-way integration, whereby resources and students from the majority community did not flock to minority institutions. Hence, the current state of higher education is that of selective integration at the individuals level but not at the institutional level.

Another negative implication of the one-way integration phenomenon is division within the Black community. Those who were fortunate enough to ascend to the middle class and beyond are often thought of as leaving behind those who were unable to do so. This phenomenon has been described as disintegration (Robinson, 2010), whereby integration led to a deleterious splintering of the Black community. Eugene Robinson (2010) noted that the Black community can be divided into four groups: (a) the Mainstream middle-class, (b) the Abandoned, (c) the Transcendent elite, and (d) the Emergent—individuals who are mixed-race heritage or recent immigrants. Within Jackie Robinson University, there is an eclectic mix of students, Black, White, Latino, Biracial/Bicultural, legacy, first generation, international and domestic students. Students of African descent are those from a variety of socio-economic and cultural backgrounds, Black Americans, Caribbean, and international students from various countries in the continent of Africa. The splintering of the Black Community coupled

with chasm left by selective one-way integration served to maintain a system of inequity, which easily recognized in the maintenance of the academic achievement gap.

The Achievement Gap

The realities of racism, overt in the past, covert in the present, and always systematic have created and sustained what is now referred to as the achievement gap. According to the National Center for Education Statistics, achievement gaps are defined as "gaps [that] occur when one group of students outperforms another group and the difference in average scores for the two groups is statistically significant (that is, larger than the margin of error)" ("NAEP - Achievement Gaps," 2014). It has been reported that although in some areas the achievement gap has narrowed, the divide between Black and Hispanic students with their White counterparts persists to this day (Hempill, Vanneman, & Rahman, 2011; Vanneman, Hamilton, Anderson, & Rahman, 2009). Interestingly, the basis of the arguments for separate but equal in the desegregation of schools, the idea that the achievement gap between Black students and White students, were the result of inequities proliferates to this day. Simply put, integration was thought to be a remedy for the inequities within education and other facets of American society, but fell short of its promise as a panacea. In essence, the achievement gap is the result of the longstanding mixture of systematic racism and poverty. It is no secret that the backdrop of school and community integration was White flight, whereby White Americans created suburban racial enclaves leaving limited resources in Black ghettos. Given much less recognition is the loss of Black middle class and Transcendent class

resources in traditional Black communities. Those Black Americans on the wrong side economic, social, and educational achievement gaps are the 'Abandoned.' Those "with less hope of escaping poverty and dysfunction that at any time since Reconstruction's crushing end" (Robinson, 2010, p. 5). Although the students within JRU represent an eclectic social mixture, it should be considered that most of the students attending JRU represent the abandoned class of Black Americans.

Ironically, JRU in its attempts to assuage the impact of the achievement gaps within society has its own achievement gap within the institution. Given the fiscal struggles of JRU and the lack of educational opportunities for those students who represent The Abandoned, JRU finds itself in a compromising position. Although there are many who believe the JRU policy of admitting students who do not meet the "academic qualifications" of the institution is detrimental. There has been a longstanding open enrollment policy for the admittance of students with high school diplomas or GEDs. To meet the needs of students that are more academically prepared and higher achievers, SAT and ACT scores are used to determine who is worthy of receiving scholarships. Within the department of Kinesiology many student who are athletes also receive athletic scholarships to attend the university. This phenomenon is the cause of a chasm between students within JRU. Regardless of the perceived gap between students, faculty and administration have perceived JRU as the saving grace for many students with limited educational opportunities (*The Jackie Robinson University Legacy: A Historically Black Treasure*, 2007). Nevertheless, the university's approach to education

is that all students have a need for further development and nurturing. The reasons for the admittance of students, many of whom are ill prepared for the rigors of college, cannot be separated from the longstanding academic achievement gap among racial and economic classes.

Dr. Jimenez, a primary informant and the newly appointed department chair of the Kinesiology program at JRU, described the university's approach to admitting and educating students:

> You [will] find here students, [who] like I said that are not ready for college. They're kids who graduated from high school. Kids who you know will not make it at another university and for one reason to another JRU opens the door to the student and this is the student that struggles identifying how to manage their time. [Students who ask question like,] "Why do I need to go to class?" The student[s] who like to hang out by the gym chatting with friends, listen to music, you know "just chill'n." [They] still don't see why going to class or at least doing well in my academics [is important]. Some might even question, "Why is my academic performance so important?"
>
> The faculty to some extent becomes mentors; you go beyond the role you have in other universities to that of an advisor, to that of a mentor, maybe to that of a parent almost. I will give you examples of two of [the] kids I was talking about, you identify that [these kid are] really struggling although you could not see it in their faces, you could tell [these kids are] struggling. These kids as first time

> freshmen [and] will not make it at the end of the year. The kid[s] might drop [out] or might be kicked out just because they haven't been able to figure [college] out. You have to take that role [where you are] sitting them down, following them, I mean to some extent teach them why and putting to perspective their backgrounds where they are coming from, the opportunity they have received and why they should make the best of those opportunities. Thinking about those who [are] from their own neighborhoods who do not have the same luxury. And for some of the students we have here I could tell you that I have the chance to meet some whose backgrounds form those neighborhoods you have seen in the movies; high crime, high violence, [and] drugs. But for some reason these kids go to college and sometimes you have to remind them about where you are coming from, the opportunity you get to change your own future, but at the same time change the reality of you own community and how your community will see you as a person who made it.

The terms with which students are admitted into JRU are reflective of broader social conditions (i.e., the achievement gap and class division within the Black community) that shape the current pipeline of students into higher education. The gaps among groups on the larger societal scale are reflected in subtle tensions within the institutional one, which is encapsulated in the relationship between survival of JRU and the educational opportunities provided by JRU.

Survival and Opportunities

There is a survival narrative that feeds into a stereotype serving to affect all HBCUs. Nationally, HBCUs have been critiqued as irrelevant and more vehemently as academic wastelands (Gasman, 2006). Both descriptions have roots connected to a survival narrative surrounding HBCU. Within this narrative, a major tension is the value of providing higher education for students, many of whom are financially or academically unprepared for college.

A primary response to those who criticize the existence or relevance of HBCUs and universities is that they provide opportunities for individuals who otherwise would not have them with regard to receiving higher education. Like the survival narrative, the notion that HBCUs provide opportunities for education where they are limited, has been trope defining these intuitions from their beginnings.

Like many of his students within the kinesiology department, Dr. Jimenez's journey to JRU is the result of the institution providing an opportunity and environment that was not apparent at other institutions. In his previous position, he was a faculty member at a Town State University—a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI)—but had a critical view of his experiences at the university. He has a similar perspective of Owen State University—a PWI—where he attended graduate school.

> Well there is a big difference [between JRU and my experiences at Town State and Owen State] and the big difference is that I am not singled out. That's just one. I am not identified as a Hispanic person, nobody reminds me that I am

Hispanic, I don't need to come from the comparisons between a White faculty or me as a Hispanic faculty. Here I am not seen as a minority, here I am seen as one more member of the community on campus. At Owen State, you know everybody [thought] that I spoke Spanish, that the history of many of the students from Hispanic descendants in academics has not been that bright. I took a class with a faculty that would use statistics to remind us that African Americans and Hispanics historically, we have underperformed academically. So I was always reminded were I was from and that [I] had [a] big challenge in front of me of finishing up and graduating from a historically White institution. But then when I went to Town State, mostly Hispanic student population, I got along really well with the student body, I felt really well because it was my similar culture, similar likes, similar experiences. Nonetheless, the faculty was mostly White. So although the population was Hispanic mostly, still the representation of the faculty wasn't. Was still predominantly White and as a faculty my work was more questioned than that of other faculties who were not Hispanic. So even though it wasn't as obvious as it was at Owen state, I still face it. I have not at JRU. Basically, because it is an ethnic minority institution. Although, the African American experiences have been different than the Hispanic, we have shared some issues at one moment in time historically. So here I'm not singled out here I'm just seen for what I do and what I contribute to the university. So there have been those differences. I always get asked. "Do you think that racism still exists

today?" I say, "Not like you saw in the 50s, 60s, or 70s. There are new versions of racism. Now you don't see the racism in which you are denied entrance into a restaurant or where to sit on the bus. The new form of racism is to always demonstrate why you have the job that you have, why we should hire you and not someone else. You get more work to demonstrate your value than someone else." So there is a new form of racism that is not as obvious. That had been the experience at Town State that I haven't experienced at JRU.

Dr. Jimenez is never shy when it comes to talking about racism or other forms of oppression. He maintains a critical race perspective that allows him to see beyond superficial manifestations of racisms. While he recognizes that Town State is a HSI according to federal designation, he still considers it a PWI. From his perspective, the interest convergence of federal funds and the increasing Hispanic student population that prompted the Towns State official change from a PWI to an HSI. Yet, those in power remain White. While a faculty member of Town State, his work was questioned by and compared to that of White faculty. But at JRU Dr. Jimenez has been elevated to a position of power and influence (i.e., kinesiology department chair). The difference in experience is perhaps rooted in the history of the two institutions. JRU is a historically Black university with a legacy of employing multiethnic and racially diverse faculty whereas Town State is a newly designated Hispanic Serving institution.

Another informant, Dr. Calvin, described his reasoning for teaching at an HBCU rather than his former place of employment, Coleman University, a PWI, as the opportunity to teach first generation, Black, and Hispanic students:

> …Part of why I choose to be here rather than Coleman University is I choose to equip African American and Hispanic Americans [so] they can be successful and negotiate [and] navigate their lives successfully. Those kids at Coleman University are going to be successful as far as what they view [to be] success. That's just how it happens, but here at an HBCU, man we're still looking at probably 45-50% of the students here still are first generation college [students], you know which is still like man this is amazing to me. We still have this many African Americans; Hispanic Americans who don't even have anybody in their family who went to college. So that's why I do what I do…
>
> But there again I think you know when we allow individuals to grow and be nurtured in an environment where they see success they can understand success. But they can also [begin to] know the issues of social justice. Part of it [is] that recognizing that there are going to be some obstacles just because of who you are. [Even though] now things are continuing to improve. But there's still that 48% of students who are still first generation. Then we're still saying there's still this academic achievement gap you know. I'm working with a project with the local school district on the issues of [the] disproportionality of African Americans receiving special education services. Why are there so many African

> Americans receiving special education? Are they, are we misreading [the students] are we missing those issues there? Also, I had some students work with me, of course on those projects. We did a presentation at one of the state conferences and the students presented. We do things outside the class to reinforce what I would consider my interpretation of the mission of HBCUs, the mission of this particular HBCU as well.

Dr. Calvin not only recognizes that the mission of JRU and other HBCUs is to teach students who are products of the achievement gap, but also to engage them in research that addresses The Gap itself. This integrated approach to teacher education is example of how faculty within JRU addressed The Gap at multiple levels. This is one instance where students who are products of The Gap, are taught about The Gap, and are expected to produce scholarship pertaining to The Gap. Dr. Jimenez and Dr. Calvin recognize demographic descriptors of students that are usually indicators that students will not succeed, but also explain how the university and individual professors can promote success among the students. Similarly, Dr. Jimenez recognizes the same circumstances in his classroom. He is faced with educating students on different sides of the spectrum at the same time for the first time.

> Many of the students have faced the notion of the negative self fulfilling prophecy of you know your history is determined by those who come before you. So for many of the students who come here for the first time to college many times students' parents did not go to college. Kids didn't know what to do, it was

better to go to college then stay in my own neighborhood. But then you have the opposite those whose parent did have the college degree, were African Americans who had success in their own careers and have asked their kids to go to college to work in their parents businesses. So I have two opposites I never experienced before.

Traditionally, the widespread faculty perception of students attending JRU as potential "late bloomers," this view of students was not only for those who were low achieving, but also for those who were more academically sound (*The Jackie Robinson University Legacy: A Historically Black Treasure*, 2007).

Student Perspectives of The Gap

While they inhabit the same space, professors have a broader view of the conditions that shape the social context of JRU than do students. Professors are more aware of the historical, social, and cultural conditions that led to The Gap among students. An understanding of The Gap between students should not be viewed singularly as an achievement gap, but rather the lack of achievement is the byproduct of differences in preparedness, maturity, and sense of purpose among students. In this regard, I do not mean to suggest that students share a monolithic perspective of JRU. A major concern among high achieving students is the perceived lack of rigor within the institution. These perspectives vary with regard to who is responsible for the "lowering of standards" within the institution. For example, some students place blame on the other

students for the "lowering of standards" within the institution, while others question the motives of professors and administrators

Fieldnote: Shania on The Gap. I was first made aware of The Gap between students in a conversation with Shania, an African American who is classified as a junior within the Kinesiology Department. Essentially, I would say that our conversation served as an informal interview. It also served as a catalyst for an informant relationship between she and I.

Typically, students enter the classroom and before taking a seat they split into their affiliated enclaves. By affiliated enclaves, I mean that students separate themselves based upon several characteristics. Unlike, the accounts of racialized self-segregation highlighted by Beverly Tatum in *Why are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria?: And other Conversations about Race* (2003), the students at JRU mostly segregate themselves based upon the following affiliations: athletics, age, high achievers and low achievers, friendships, and those who are disconnected. The moments and conversations that take place before Dr. Jimenez enters the classroom shed light on the relationships between students in the class.

Today, like most days students trickle into the auditorium-like classroom and slowly matriculate to their seats. The conversations had by students as they enter the classroom range from sports, to school, to relationships. Most of the time, I am able to inconspicuously set up my camera in the back of the classroom and begin my observations. But today is different, Shania, president of the Kinesiology majors club,

decides break the fourth wall and have a conversation with me. As an ethnographer, I was both afraid and excited for this opportunity. It had the potential to be problematic because while wanting to limit the impact of my presence on the behaviors of the students as I observed, it was essential to gain insight from insiders. Unlike most days when Shania gravitates to the front of the class, she walks up to me as I set up my camera in the back of the auditorium-like classroom where Dr. Jimenez taught his Introduction to Adapted Physical Education course. Her hair is styled in fashion typical for her, locked with braids dangling just below her shoulders. Her garments are reminiscent of someone who works in a hospital. Shania, like many of her classmates works a fulltime job. Her nights are spent working in an assisted living facility for senior citizens. She initially approaches me to inquire about my dissertation, and I explain that I am conducting ethnographic research about the culture of a HBCU's PETE program. It is at this moment that Shania begins to open up about her opinions of JRU. In our conversation she begins by mentioning, "I started out at Capital City University (CCU), but decided to transfer to JR" (Short for JRU). Within our discussion there is a clear distinction between the academic rigor of JRU and the larger predominantly White university located in the same city. "JR doesn't challenge me the same way that CCU did, it's like the professors here don't challenge us." She then makes the comparison between her biology class at CCU and the classes that she takes at JRU. In her explanation, she mentions that while attending a PWI, the distance between students and faculty is much greater; "At Capital City University you had to go to a TA (teaching

assistant) who were not always helpful. They would sometimes give you an answer without thoroughly explaining it."

After making her comparison between CCU and JRU, we then began to talk about the students attending JRU. Unlike CCU, where the majority of students are admitted based upon being in the top 8% of their high school graduating class, the JRU student population is reflective of more lenient admissions standards. She explained that there are two types of students within JRU, those who are high achievers and low achievers. As she mentions this, I explain that during my time as a student at an HBCU there appeared to be a similar gap between students with very few or no students residing in the middle. Not shy about having this conversation, Shania explained the difference between students while other students are in the classroom. I notice that Wallace (pseudonym), an older non-traditional student who normally sits toward the rear of class is sitting listen to his headphones. He pays us no attention. The other students appear to be in their own worlds, discussing everything from JRU athletics to relationship drama. The interactions among students before the beginning of class and the end of class contrast with division that occurs once the learning session begins.

Insight: Shania on The Gap. A few weeks after the semester ended, I decided to sit down with Shania for a more formal one on one interview. Initially, I asked her to talk about her experiences at JRU:

> I've not been used to being around, you know, all African American people as far as studying. I came from a diverse high school, I came to a diverse university

> and then, I switched to go there—to a historically Back college university. So it was kind of a culture shock to see, you know, the different type of students you have. It was a culture shock to see, you know, the different type of students. You have students that want to learn and you have students that's just there for whatever particular [reason] that they're there at the university. That was like a culture shock. You know everybody is not there to focus on getting a degree.

Contrary to my initial thoughts about the interactions between students, Shania clearly articulates a lack of connection between those who she believes want to attain degrees and those who do not. When asked about the interactions between the two types of students attending JRU her response was the following:

> To be honest there is no connection, really to be honest. Those students that I say that are [here] for whatever various reasons, it could be because of financial aid, it could be because "my momma told [me] I should go to college," because "one of my mentors in high school said I should go to college, but this really [is] not what I want to do. I'm just trying it out because somebody else told me I need to do it." By them doing that, they're not really focused on the class work or focused on getting the degree they're just focused on just being there. So those particular student[s] would [maintain] with maybe a 2.5 GPA or a 2.0 GPA, just enough to stay in the institution for another semester. They're not long lasting, you know, in the institution. They're not four year students. They might stay there two or three years as long as they keep a 2.0 GPA and then after that they

> figured out ok this is not really what I want so they leave, they drop out. There is no connection between [them and] students who are really striving to get that degree, striving to be honors students.

I was surprised to hear Shania make these comments because she is one of the most sociable students within the Kinesiology department. Unlike Lucy, her social network goes beyond the students in the trusted peer groups that she sits with on a regular basis. Everyday before the beginning of class Shania holds conversations with students who are high achieving and low achieving, male and female, student-athletes, and non-athletes. Days when I would walk with her to her car after class, she would raise her voice to greet other students and faculty as we walked across the courtyard in the middle of the university. In her own way she is a politician of sorts, always greeting and socializing with others. Laughter, smiles, and a friendly disposition are the markers of the affinity that she draws from those around her.

> No, I talk to everybody because I'm president of the kinesiology association. If I was not the president of the kinesiology association, I would not talk to everybody. I would not communicate; as much as I do, I would not encourage people as much as I do. I wouldn't. I would just be focused on my own thing. No, before I was president of the kinesiology association I worked for admissions, I didn't talk to students at all I just focused on working for admissions.

I feel like there isn't an expectation and the reason why I say that is because we don't stick to our standards at JRU. And with that being said, it's publicized on media. It [is] publicized [in] literature that in order to get into JRU you have to have, I don't know, a 2.7 something from high school. We accept those with 2.5s. We accept those with 1.5s. You know what I mean. We accept those with giving them a second chance in academics, but then knowing as however many individuals we accept on that is the standard thinking that they're going to rise above. You know what I mean, and they don't, we fail as a university. Now when I say we fail, we lose numbers. We [are] accepting all these people when we're seeing, ok, they are going to do better. We give them interviews. Oh, they are capable of duda dah, but then when they fail your expectation of being capable to do the work and being capable of staying in college, then we fail because we don't have the numbers that we want to have.

So we have no great expectations for our students. We're basically focused on the number of students we have per semester. I mean, to be honest, our administration is getting better as far as sticking to standards because so much has changed, is changing at JRU. The expectation is growing. But right now, we don't have an expectation period.

Shania's contradicting opinions of JRU reflect a paradox that suggests JRU is attempting to do good by giving some students a second chance at education, but falls short of being good for that very reason. Even though she acknowledges a change in the

university's approach to maintaining high standards and expectations, she holds steadfast to the belief that the university has none.

Insight: Lucy on The Gap. Unlike Shania, Lucy, another high achieving student has a different perspective of who or what is responsible for "The Gap" between students. Rather than directing her frustrations at the institutional level, Lucy intimates that the low achieving students are responsible for "The Gap."

Lucy, a highly motivated student-athlete of Mexican descent is a high achieving student who is respected and recognized by faculty as having the potential to earn a terminal degree. Her relationships with professors are best described as collegial and comedic, but never crossing the professional boundaries into what could be considered friendship. It is not uncommon, to see professors make fun of her in a joking manner both inside and outside of class. The jokes are not taken offensively but are regarded as positive, testaments to the affinity professors have for her. While she is highly regarded among the faculty, she has a social network within the classroom that is not expansive. Typically, she sits in the front of class with many other high achieving students, but regardless of where she is sitting, she is always near the same group of women, some of whom are teammates of hers on the softball team. Lucy is very cognizant of where she sits. On the days when she arrives to class late and many of the seats, but not all, in the front of class are often taken. Lucy and Rosa, her best friend in the class, sit toward the back of the classroom. I don't know why I sit back here when I'm late. I guess it's because I don't feel like I deserve to sit in the front." For Lucy following the patterns

and behaviors of a "good" student are both a choice and privilege. Sitting in the front of class, a traditional sign of being a good student was something Lucy was not worthy of having. Her demeanor is one that shows deference for those in positions of authority. For this reason, criticism of the academic rigor of the institution is what I consider a careful critique. Nevertheless, Lucy has deep concerns about whether or not JRU has adequately prepared her for graduate school:

> Yes, and that's what worries me. Not that it's so laid back, there's a certain type of environment. Its not the teachers, but I think the students. There's so many students that aren't focused and I feel like when I leave JRU some teachers will have prepared me for the real world, to go to grad school, and some classes didn't. And it's not really the teachers, it's just being around certain students and sometimes, I don't wanna talk down on anyone, but sometimes people say stuff in class I turn around and it's like, "dude"…

Lucy's attributes her frustration with the overall classroom environment to the behaviors and comments made by her classmates. These negative experiences determine whom she is willing to interact with for assignments given during and after class. When asked how she determines her peer interactions she stated the following:

> Soooo, especially athletes, we know each other because we work out together. We do things like that. I don't know, some people do come to certain people for help [with school work] when they don't interact with [those] people [otherwise]. But because they goof around in class, when we partner up I make sure I partner

up with someone who I know is going to do the work just as well. You know what I mean? I'm not gonna go partner up with Kelvin Marcus [Pseudonym].

I wouldn't mind partnering up with him, but I'm gonna let him know like, "hey, if we're going to work on this we're going to work on it together. We're gonna do this [together]."

Wallace's wisdom. Wallace, a 38-year-old non-traditional student and military veteran is one of the most vocal students in class. His age and life experience offer a different take on the nature of The Gap between students. Unlike many of his peers, the depth of his questions goes beyond a thirst for superficial knowledge.

I think I ask questions that you know [the other students] really haven't thought off. Me, I'm 37. You know, the average kid in class is what? 19-20? So they haven't really experienced no real racism. You know what I'm say saying. They kind of have but they haven't really, really experienced no racism.

I mean, when I was coming up White dude say the n-word, we beating him down. Now a White dude say it you know people [say]," What's up?" something like that, you know. I had to conform, you know what I'm saying. I had to conform but I had to like throttle back from jumping on it so fast that, you know what I'm saying. When we in a group and a White dude like what oh what up nigga (laughs) Oh hey I don't…

His class participation is held in high regard as Dr. Jimenez compliments Wallace for making connections between the course content as experiences as a Black man during class.

> Now in the case of Wallace, as I said, Wallace is different from they are in terms of age. He's significantly older than they are. And I would see Wallace as an older version of what many of them will look like down the road. See, because his way of dress, his way of speech, his way of doing things. He is like an older version of a Tyrone, a Kelvin, so they relate to him a lot. But he has some lived experiences that they haven't seen. So Wallace does what he needs to do to survive in a classroom but he has faced things in war that our students [have not]. For example, when he speaks, it is because of something that he has seen.
>
> And the other thing that you have to understand is that Wallace did go through the times when you were a Black kid you were seen differently and he still has that sense today. Many times when you're engaging conversation with Wallace, and even if you see his writing he will always say same as the Black male, wherever you go people are looking at you. If you're driving a car people will think you stole it. If you have these people that think like that you will always be segregated you will always be.
>
> So Wallace has that real impression on what he does and he is very [out]spoken about it. You know Wallace will say, "I went to the mall today, I was getting

> [ready] to order some food, people looked at me and I'm sure they were looking at me because they say, 'ohhh this Black dude is going to be problematic.'"

While he is clearly older than the rest of the students, Wallace's attire, fitted baseball caps, baggy jean shorts, and Jordan sneakers are not so different from his Black peers who are nearly 20 years younger. His ability to easily relate to most of the other Black students in the department is attributed to his "young swag," yet he maintains a cultural maturity with knowledge of classical hip-hop. Sitting in his seat waiting for class to begin he recites:

> Watch these rap, niggaz, get all up in your guts, French vanilla, butter pecan, chocolate deluxe. Even caramel sundaes is gettin' touched And scooped in my ice cream truck, Wu tears it up.

Lyrics from a song titled *Ice Cream* by Raekwon featuring other members of the iconic rap group the Wu Tang Clan. Released in 1995, the majority of the students were either not born or too young to remember when it was first released. While his style and "young swag" are not too distant from his peers, Wallace did not sit near the other students in class. Ironically, Wallace chooses to sit in the back of class, but is one of the most actively engaged within the classroom. Strategically placed in the aisle seat, best suited to provide leg space for his big body and long legs, he chooses to sit in a row that is inhabited by only one other student, sitting in the aisle seat other side of the room. For Wallace blending in with the rest of the student body is easy, but he is still able to recognize the differences in maturity.

I believe that my advantage by being my age I don't [get so emotional]. I mean they so emotional these days. Everything is emotion driven they don't think first. You know they just go off. I don't know how they was raised. Everything is emotional.

Kids younger than me, 18, 19 years olds right now. They emotional driven, all in the club its crowed you bump into me. "What you looking at?" Ahh ahh. Me, "my bad, it's crowed. I bumped into you sorry." You know keep it moving. Them they wanna fight.

Fieldnote: Katy. The beauty of ethnography is that information about the culture and context of a particular group of people is exposed in what could be mistaken as tangential moments. I liken these opportunities to learn about the background, instead of the foreground, to the conversations that take place directly after formal interviews. In this case, information about the perception of JRU from a student perspective was not given during the class time, but in a conversation between Dr. Jimenez and Katy that occurred after a physical education secondary teaching methods lesson.

In typical fashion, after Dr. Jimenez dismisses his students a few remain afterwards. Most of the time students stay to discuss grades, absences, extra credit, or to collect assignments. However, on this day Katy, one of few White students in the kinesiology department, engages with Dr. Jimenez about the president's honors convocation speech. Honors convocation is a day where high achieving students are recognized for their academic achievements. Both Katy and Dr. Jimenez are standing in

the front of the classroom, roughly two feet in front of the brown podium, which houses the computer used by Jimenez to conduct his classes. Because Katy is a student-athlete, she is dressed in her typical athletic wear, knee length tights, sneakers and a t-shirt. Her dark brown hair is pulled back in short ponytail that did not extend beyond the base of her neck. Dr. Jimenez is dressed in business causal attire, slacks, shoes, and a collared shirt. Besides the three of us, the room is empty. In the midst of their conversation, I am sitting in the far left hand corner of the classroom, trying to be as inconspicuous as possible.

Katy asks, "So I have a question for you. Did you go to the president's convocation?"

Jimenez responds in a thick Spanish accent, "No I was at conference. Did you go?"

Katy responds, "Umm no, because I went and taught, but from what I heard he asked all the athletes to stand up to give them recognition. Over half of the student-athlete population was standing up. And he was like, "Men's basketball, women's basketball, track and field, and badminton."

Dr. Jimenez responds with a slightly high pitched surprised sounding, "WHAT?!"

Katy responds in an audible and clear tone. “Yeah” [pause] “what?” and he goes ‘ohh excuse me. I meant to say volleyball.’ “[The president doesn’t] even know what kind of sports are going on in [his] own university. So, my [question] is—Was it him or was it our teachers that have dumbed our level down to make [it easier] to get good grades?”

Dr. Jimenez, with a voice that is now much softer, responds by asking, “Reframe it differently for me. Say it differently, what you want to say.”

She responds, “Umm was it his [the president of the university] doing or was it the teachers’ doing? Are the teachers afraid to lose their job or is he afraid to lose his job? To the point where the course[s] [have] become very, very easy. So, kids are [attending] class just to pass, although they are not learning anything here at JRU.”

Still using his soft tone Dr. Jimenez, responds. “You have one of the biggest arguments I have.”

Katy, “You don’t know who it is either. Or is it..?” Before she can finish her questions, Dr. Jimenez retorts,

> You ask really good questions, those are the questions that should be asked when the board meets or the executive cabinet meets. [For example, you might ask the board of directors or cabinet,] “Is it you who are trying to get graduation rates so that we lower the standards?

> I'm a firm believer that if you really want the best out of any group or person you need to have high standards. That's why in my class [I am clear about] what I want them to learn… many times students say Dr. Jimenez requires a lot, but we are raising standards to prepare [students] for the challenges when they leave. In many universities there is something called academic freedom where faculty decided what they want to teach and how they want to teach it. Many times, sometimes some agendas drive certain things to be certain ways. It is not uncommon to know that at some universities that standards are lower.

Katy responds by saying,

> Which is sad because that is why people are graduating with this degree thinking that this is my job security and it's not because your university dumbed all your stuff down. You're turning in a resume that [can't compare] to somebody from CCU, where they have a four page resume and you only have this one [page resume], but you have this degree behind it because that's what you thought you needed.

Katy's perspective of JRU can be couched within broader arguments about the quality of education received not only at JRU, but at HBCUs as a whole. Mentioned earlier, there have been many attempts to describe HBCUs pejoratively as "academic wastelands" that do not prepare students for membership in the American workforce (Willie et al., 2006). These accusations against HBCUs are not dissimilar to the negative

generalizations Katy makes about Black families in her conversation with Dr. Jimenez. HBCUs are no more monolithic than the diverse population of Black people throughout the United States.

Once Katy finishes asking Dr. Jimenez about the standards of the institution, the conversation changes and begins to emphasize her experiences as an athlete and not a student. “Our volleyball team is completely different this year, which there’s still Black girls on it. She turns, looks at me, and says, “I’m not racist by the way back there. But,…”

Once again, Dr. Jimenez interrupts, “No, she’s one of the most, one of the best students that we have.”

At that moment, I immediate thought she is about to say something racist. She continues, “But they’re actually respectful. [Coach] Fillmore never actually recruited girls before. He’s always just had tryouts, to where they have come in. I asked one of the girls, ‘are you half White, half Black?’ because she’s very just, very respectful and I know that’s a bad question to ask but everybody else that has come through has not had that same level of respect.”

Earlier in the conversation, Katy spoke with great clarity. Her words now become choppy. Her tone has also become much softer. “To where she said, ‘no my

mom has raised me really good but that my dad, I mean like they are both Black.' But like I don't know, do you know what I'm saying?"

Jimenez Responds, "You're seeing a difference in some of your teammates…"

Katy, "Yeah, she said that she has come into a class and a teacher had asked her the same question I asked her and she said she has good grades because she is respectful."

Katy is one of the few students that I would describe as disconnected. Her interactions with peers only occur when they are required, limited to group discussions in class and volleyball practice. Regardless of her status as a student athlete, she did not belong to any particular group of students. Ambitious and precise in her approach to education; her view of JRU is that of a hurdle that will not get in her way of someday starting her own Crossfit gym. Her conversation with Dr. Jimenez is reflective of a larger image problem that Black Americans have. Negative imagery perpetuated through media and history and her own negative experiences with Black students at JRU caused her to ask a teammate a question rooted in a negative stereotype of Black parenting. Blaming of Black parents for the perceived lack of educability of Black students is nothing new. Her candor about her perception about Black women and their response to authority not only shed light on the existence of a defiant angry Black women stereotype, but also her awareness of the "standards" used to vet students within the institution. From her eyes, respectability and good studentship is associated with

Whiteness or at the very least, not Blackness. Her negative comments are also couched within a Black/White binary that did not include her opinion of those students who are Latino/a and Asian descent.

Historical context of The Gap between students. The division between students is not a new phenomenon; the experiences of several alumni suggest that there has been division among students stretching as far back as the 1970s (post-integration). Myck, a Liberian immigrant and a former student in the sciences who now has a PhD in Physics, was attracted to those students who were likeminded.

> I had good relations with the other students. The serious, exemplary students with whom I mixed academically in the library were the ones from whom I learned such attitudes as those reflected in the musical tastes and dress of other students were sometimes offensive to me. But then they were kids. (*The Jackie Robinson University Legacy: A Historically Black Treasure*, 2007, p. 90)

His feelings toward his professors echo those of Lucy, just as his description of classmates as "kids," reflects those of Wallace. Some professors were not challenging, but those who were he holds in the highest regard. Likewise with his class, those who were studious and reflected respectable taste served as his peer group.

Faculty Perspectives of The Gap

The two informants in this study who are JRU professors, Dr. Jimenez and Dr. Calvin, are examples of faculty members who are held in the highest regard. They provide rigor and maintain high expectations for students. Both recognize the role of the

institution from positive perspective in that they view themselves as individuals who are standing in The Gap. Regardless of the low expectations of other faculty members or the lowering of standards from administration, these professors maintain high expectations for their students no matter the achievement level. On the contrary, high achieving students are less forgiving in their understanding of why some students are admitted into the university. However, both faculty informants offer critiques of the institution.

Dr. Jimenez insight. Dr. Jimenez is critical of the blurred line between many faculty members and students. This occurs because many of the employees at JRU are former students who remain at the institution as employees after they graduate. He is also critical, as mentioned earlier of the lack of rigor provided by many of the faculty.

> So this professor has been here for more than 20 years, a professor who is really well known by being a really kind man, really kind, sometimes too kind, sometimes so kind that it's sometimes unethical some of the things that he does. Like for example, you could have failed to complete a lot of work the entire semester and because he doesn't want you to have to repeat a class, he will let you turn in everything at the end. We have talked about why that would be unfair to other students who do their work. So he has never had anyone speak to him on those things. So he's too kind and his student's know that.

As a new faculty member and department chair, Dr. Jimenez's hiring at JRU represents an attempt on behalf of the administration to make changes in the academic culture of JRU. In other words, his hiring as the new department chair of the

Kinesiology Department did not occur in a vacuum. On the contrary, it is part of a larger effort to increase standards throughout the university. For example, alluded to earlier, his presence coincided with an increase in the level of technology available in the classrooms at JRU. Within his faculty meetings, Dr. Jimenez stresses the importance of professors updating their practices and assessment tools. Dr. Jimenez maintains high expectations for students, but is doing the same for faculty and staff members within the department of Kinesiology. Considering this, teaching for social justice and teacher education for social justice have become a convoluted reality within JRU. Although this study emphasized those teacher educators who do indeed have high expectations for their students, there are those within JRU who clearly do not. "A sometimes subtle and not so subtle form of social injustice is evidenced by teachers who have low expectations of students' intellectual, social, emotional, and ethical success in schooling" (Mirci, Loomis, & Hensley, 2011, p. 58). Dr. Jimenez's efforts as teacher educator and administrator is an example of how social justice is integrated into the ethos of the kinesiology program. At the institutional level, it is important to recognize that Dr. Jimenez was hired with the understanding that a change in expectations was needed.

Dr. Calvin insight. Similar to Dr. Jimenez, Dr. Calvin maintains high expectations for students but his contention with the institution is slightly different from Dr. Jimenez's critiques. Similar to Shania, Dr. Calvin's concern is that JRU has overemphasized the maintenance numbers. But unlike Shania he is more concerned that

as an HBCU JRU will begin to lose its identity with the influx of a more diverse population of the students. His appreciation for diversity and understanding of the similarities in the struggles among the various communities of color is tempered by concerns that "HBCUs are getting away from their original mission, but are more concerned about numbers?" From this perspective, Dr. Calvin is as steadfast as he is a cautious proponent of the role HBCUs play in education a population of diverse students. He appreciates the commonalities in the struggles between people of color and values the presence of White students that attend the university to learn more about diversity, but his fear is that JRU and other HBCUs will be pulled away from their mission to educate Black people.

Concluding Thoughts

The Gaps that are within and surrounding JRU are a defining cultural manifestation of the institution. This has created a paradoxical situation whereby the institution holds steadfast to the tradition of providing opportunities for the education of those who may not be prepared academically or socially. This is reflected in the tensions among opportunity, survival, and expectation whereby the open enrollment policy is conflated with low expectations. However, what goes unrecognized are positive outcomes of students, both high and low achieving.

Universities play a key role in the promotion of social justice (Kai, 2009), but the practice of social justice within JRU is a delicate balancing act. JRU welcomes anyone who is willing (and even those who aren't) to have the opportunity to receive higher

education. The admittance policies at JRU suggest that access to higher education is a right and not a privilege reserved for those who come from affluent communities or those who graduated a the top of their classes. Nevertheless, by doing so students who are not ready for college are at times stigmatized by peers. Given this, it should be noted that the faculty informants in this study also offer critiques of JRU. However, as member of the faculty they have a deeper understanding of the institution's role to serve students with limited opportunities including those who are low achieving academically. Thus, social justice manifests itself not only as a welcome all approach to education, but the constant struggle to maintain high expectations and the inclusion of high achieving students and faculty in the development of those who are low achieving.

The Gap manifested within JRU is not unlike other tensions present within the broader social justice discourse—such as the tensions that occur when alliances are made between oppressed groups; the sacrifices made as a result of interest convergence; or the divergent interests of a splintered Black population in the United States. Specific to JRU, The Gap is a unique place where social justice pedagogies occur. It is the epicenter of social justice but not the eye of the storm. In other words, given the relative lack of resources, types of students, and faculty, I argue that contexts such as JRU represent where social justice and teacher education for social justice are most needed. However, given these circumstances social justice and teacher education for social justice do not occur in the most comfortable context (i.e., the eye of the storm). Faculty

members—Dr. Jimenez and Dr. Calvin are explicitly aware of The Gap, and their tensions are reflected in their teaching.

Chapter Five: I am a Dream Keeper

Introduction

Unlike the previous chapter where I describe *The Gap,* the historical and social conditions with which students are educated at JRU, this chapter provides details into how students are educated. Specifically, I emphasize Dr. Jimenez's and Dr. Calvin's approaches to cultural relevance and care in the classroom. In doing so, I offer a counter narrative to the critiques given by students about the rigor and expectations provided by JRU, as the students in this chapter express an appreciation for the care and high expectations provided by some faculty members. However, like the previous chapter I utilize a layered approach rooted in situated learning theory to garner an understanding of how social justice and teacher education for social justice were existent at the community, university, and classroom levels. For example, this chapter exposes how JRU is connected to the broader community through events such as the Martin Luther King Jr., Day parade/carnival.

Through the usage of ethnography, I displayed how the aforementioned forms of social justice are evident within the culture of JRU. The chapter begins with a view of the campus as I walk to Dr. Jimenez's office. As I describe specific sites (e.g., the parking lot) on the journey across campus, I pause to provide context for specific sites. This technique is used throughout the chapter to offer greater insight into the world of JRU. After walking to class, I detail lessons taught by Dr. Calvin, overheard while I wait outside Dr. Jimenez's office. Next, I provide a picture of Dr. Jimenez's pedagogy as he

addresses the university's dress code through classroom lecture. This section also includes descriptions of student attire and their opinions of and resistance to the dress code. In the following scene, I show how Dr. Jimenez incorporates career planning and life guidance into his in-class and out-of-class interactions with students. This section is interrupted with a conversation with Philly, a low achieving student, to introduce the reader to JRU's "quintessential low achiever." This is followed by an examination of the way an ethos of care permeates JRU. The chapter concludes with a description of an engaged class, one that, according to Dr. Jimenez in other context, would be defined as chaotic.

The primary themes presented in this chapter are cultural relevance and caring; the ways in which JRU as a university and specific teacher educators create an environment that is nurturing, culturally relevant, and culturally sustaining. More specifically this is indicative of educators' abilities to communicate and relate to students. It is also representative of students' descriptions of their personal relationships with faculty and staff and each other. In spite of the fact that the students express an appreciation for the authentic caring, relevant, and sustaining efforts of JRU and its faculty and staff, there remain tensions between the institution and its constituents with regard to how its seeks to prepare students for the world outside, specifically with regard to appropriate dress and presentation. In order to understand how JRU attempts to prepare students for the outside world one must understand the world that is JRU. Join me as I walk to class.

Walking to Class

Driving up to a dusty parking lot filled with an assortment of cars everything from those that are broken down, being eroded by rust to a shiny cleanly waxed Dodge Charger with tinted windows and shiny rims that are almost as large the wheels themselves. Surrounding the parking lot are dozens of cars on two streets that wrap around it. There is an unwritten agreement between JRU and Capital City that allows students to park without having pay to for a parking pass or worry about tickets for parking illegally on city streets. This agreement occurs in part because of space limitations and the economic burden it would have on students. Of all the cars, the one that stands out the most is not a brand new, but well kept Land Rover with tinted windows and rims that were fashioned in the same likeness of the Charger's. The Land Rover is trimmed with well placed ornate decorations across the side and rear of the vehicle. The dark silver paint of the vehicle is carefully waxed with a slight sparkle that is reminiscent of glitter. This car belongs to one of the most notorious students on campus, Philly.

The dusty patch of land that serves as a free parking lot for the students serves multiple purposes. Every year this plot of land is the culminating location of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Day parade that begins at CCU and ends at JRU. It is here that JRU hosts a community festival in honor of the late civil rights leader. Thousands of citizens from within Capital City participate in the event. The panorama of people, Black, White, Brown, and more make the trek from the Westside of Capital City, the traditionally more

affluent and White part of town, to the East Side, what was once the Black section of town that is now being gentrified by urban development. Sprawled out throughout the parking lot were food, clothing, and other vendors from capital city Black business community. Local bands comprised of multiethnic groups of singers and musicians play traditional "Black" music like Jazz and R&B. Even local Hip-Hop artists and poets perform. One of the keynote speakers is the university president, who mentions the need for "All of us to keep the dream alive."

From an alumni perspective, the significance of the march is rooted in the history of JRU. Overshadowed by the larger CCU, most people in the Capital City community do not realize that JRU is the oldest institution of higher education within the city. With gentrification as its backdrop, the march signifies at least one moment when members of all ethnicities and races gather to celebrate the memory of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. In this instance, JRU is more than just a destination spot for a winter festival, but rather it is one of the last remaining artifacts of an era on the eastside of Capital City indicative of the community before gentrification.

Leaving the parking lot, I notice that there is a brand new security post that requires that I sign in before entering the campus. There is a security camera fixed across from the security post that is attached to a light brown brick building on the other side of the sidewalk. The emphasis on security is one of many changes that were being made at JRU. After signing in, I walk past two buildings; the one on the left is Spencer Building, named after Preston Spencer a White Missionary who supported The Fredrick

Douglas Institute in its beginning and the one on my right, which serves as the gymnasium for the campus. This is a hangout spot for many students, a place where they gather to socialize between classes or, sometimes, instead of going to classes. When the gymnasium is free, it serves as a place where many students conduct pick-up basketball games. The buildings at JRU were all named after former administrators or prominent alumni that have contributed to the development of the institution through their work or monetary contributions. Buildings were representations of the schools history in the contemporary setting. In the spirit of this tradition, one of the newest buildings on campus is Lowe-Johnson Library, named after two former presidents of the university.

The library. Everything from the naming of buildings to the interior designs of the library were manifestations of how JRU maintains its culture within a broader mainstream context. For example, during the month of February, Black History month, the Lowe-Johnson library, becomes a thematic representation of Black and African Diasporic history. During the month of March, literature and artwork are selected and organized to embody women's history. Regardless of thematic emphasis used in the interior decorating of the library, there is an intentional additional focus on intersectionality.

Placed in the rear of the library is a "book shrine" including suggested readings and artifacts for the month of February that includes key figures in Black history that go beyond the Martin Luther King, Jr. civil rights narrative. This serves the purpose of intentionally representing the broad range of perspectives that make up the Black

American struggle against oppression. Also, included in this shrine and other images throughout the library were the images and stories of iconic members of the African Diaspora, those in the West Indies, and African rulers of the late 18th century. The inclusion of the JRU Alumni book, a text that describes the history of the university from a compilation of primary documents and alumni accounts, serves as a reminder of the university's place within Black history both locally and nationally. This broader view of Black history not only represents the diversity of people of African descent who attend JRU, but also the contextualization of Black history within the university.

Figure 1. Black History Month Book-Shrine

During women's history month, while there is an intentional emphasis on Black women. Intersectionality is more pronounced within this book-shrine. There were books ranging from the suffrage movement to women in Islam. The highlighting of Black women along with the history of accomplishments and struggles of women more broadly is a testament to how the university preserves the history of Black women while enhancing the student body's knowledge of women globally.

Figure 2. Black History Month Book-Shrine-Black Women

Leaving the library, I can see that in the middle of the campus is a courtyard sliced with walkways that crisscross finely cut grass. Although many of the buildings are old, the campus is so well kept that it seems as pristine as the artist painted depiction that can be seen on JRU flyers. Adding to the campus' natural beauty is its perfect placement on a hill that overlooks the downtown skyline of Capital City. Dispersed throughout the grass are several plots, decorative shrines that represent the Black Greek fraternities active on campus. JRU is unique among many HBCUs in that the university also supports a Latino Greek fraternity.

Making my way across the campus, I eventually enter Cloud Hall where Dr. Jimenez's office is located. Sitting in the chair outside of his office, my plan is to walk with him to class that is located in the Johnson-Meeks building, which is named after former presidents of Sojourner Truth University and The Fredrick Douglas Institute. On the wall beside me is framed copy the schools mission and vision statement.

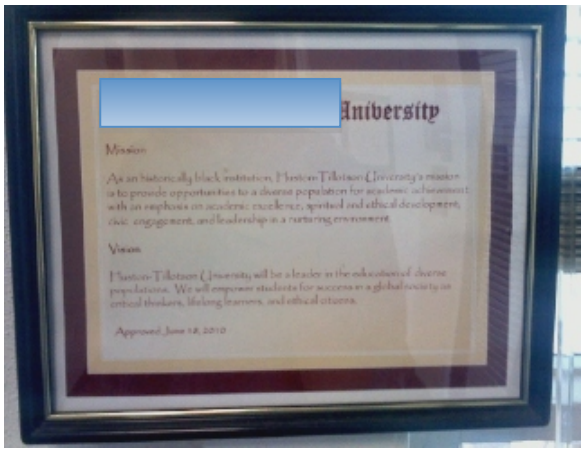


Figure 3. JRU Mission and Vision Statement

Stairway to Social Justice: Hearing Culturally Relevant and Sustaining Pedagogy

In this section, I provide a portrayal of how Dr. Calvin provides a nurturing and culturally relevant learning environment for his student. Moreover, I extend beyond the reference made by Dr. Calvin to *Dream Keepers* (Ladson-Billings, 2009) and usage of the term, culturally relevant pedagogy (CRP). Both Dr. Calvin and Dr. Jimenez incorporate the tenets of CRP as stipulated by Ladson-Billings (1995b) (i.e., the maintenance of cultural identity of students, the development of a critical consciousness, and the fostering of academic excellence). They also fit the model of more contemporary forms of CRP such as politically relevant pedagogy (Beauboeuf-Lafontant, 1999) and culturally sustaining pedagogy (Paris, 2012). A culturally sustaining pedagogy:

> …requires that our pedagogies be more than responsive of or relevant to the cultural experiences and practices of young people—it requires that they support young people in sustaining the cultural and linguistic competence of their

communities while simultaneously offering access to dominant cultural competence. (p. 95)

As I sit outside of Dr. Jimenez's office, directly in front of me is a stairway leading to classroom that is inconspicuously located in an upper room. I can overhear a conversation between what sounds like an older man and a group of students. The older man is introducing students to the purpose of their field experiences as teacher education students. "We want to expose you to diversity. We want you to interact with students, with people living in low socio-economic statuses and those who were living with money." He then goes on to tell the students a story about how he has participated in consulting work for a wealthy family living on the Southside of Capital City.

You know at first I thought their kid was just some spoiled rich kid, but what I realized was that he really did have some behavioral and emotional issues. How do you all feel about working with someone who is homeless?

Initially, students assume that Dr. Calvin means that they will be out on the streets teaching homeless children. He quickly reminds them that students will come to school with a variety of socioeconomic issues some may be coming to school without having any home to go back to at the end of the day.

Dr. Calvin recently graduated from CCU with his PhD in Multicultural Special Education. Although he recently received his PhD, he has been working at JRU for more than a decade. He appears to be shorter than he really is due to an apparent hunch at the top of his back. Thick glasses and a baldhead were markers of his older age. Unlike Dr.

Jimenez, Dr. Calvin is an African American, who has been living in Capital City for more than two decades. Dr. Calvin's style is one that engages students in dialogue through the sharing of stories and the expression of opinions. In addition to this, Dr. Calvin has mastered balancing the use of academic terminology and concepts while remaining relevant to students.

> When I talk about the African American students that, they're more communal they're more social. Therefore, to connect one of the things that I do concretely and just from a structural approach is I try to use more small groups tied to the interactions. I use a lot of discussions. Its kinda like, it almost when you sit and listen to you know, when you were downstairs listening. You're not hearing a lecture, you know, per say from me but what you're hearing is a dialogue with these students. So this dialogue to me is a part of our basing it and understanding that to be culturally relevant in your instruction means that I have to use what we know about this population from a sociological perspective. How do they listen? How do they communicate? What are those things that I can incorporate into my lesson that connects to them?

He gives students assignments that are relevant to their immediate context. Students were asked to rewrite the teacher education program mission and vision statement so that a high school senior could understand it. His rationale for this is that the current mission statement is too academic. As such, his intentions were to share the completed student examples with other faculty and staff within the department. The

assignment serves multiple purposes, the students apply culturally relevant ways of communicating by writing for an audience of high school seniors, the students were given a voice in the decision making of the mission of the teacher education program, and the students were informed about the teacher education program. This way of teaching students is similar to that of Fernádez-Balboa (1995) whereby students were given control over some aspect of the course. He did not go as far as to let students determine the structure of syllabus but they were given a voice in the design of the mission of the overall teacher education program.

Students were then engaged in a conversation about the history of HBCUs. One student, Alvin, who I initially could only recognize by voice, begins to talk about the rift between Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois. Dr. Calvin asks " Who can tell me about the history of HBCUs?" One female student answers "Weren't Booker T. Washington and DuBois important, but they didn't get a long?"

Dr. Calvin replies, "Yes, but can anyone tell me why they didn't get along?"

A student replies saying, "Booker T. Washington was about industrial education, and DuBois was more of a philosopher."

Dr. Calvin follows up by asking the question "which of them was more important?"

Students take three sides, some believing that Booker T. Washington was more important while others defended the position of DuBois, with the last group of students valuing the approach of both.

Dr. Calvin explained his reason for incorporating HBCU history into his classroom discussion:

> We kinda got into [talking] about how did education develop and then some of the individuals who were key figure in education. So then, that took us of course into that discussion of Booker T. Washington and then the establishment of HBCUs and then of course the philosophical differences between Booker T. and W. E. B. DuBois, you know. So in that discussion I had to kind of connect them to the big picture of understanding how HBCUs got started. I wanted to let them know that they were a part of history. Helping them to see that the decisions that they made [to attend an HBCU] is [connected to a] decision that hundreds of years ago you know African Americans decided that we wanted while it was hundreds of years ago they had to make that decision that they wanted higher education they had to go to a historically Black university.

Students do not hesitate to express their opinions or even challenge Dr. Calvin. "Why HBCUs? You students could have gone anywhere, but you decided to come here."

One female student answers saying that she could have gone to Capital City University but decided to go to JRU because of its size. Others mention that they decided to go to JRU because their parents or grandparents went to the university, attended another HBCU, or because they wanted the opportunity be around Black people. The notion of wanting to be around Black people is not a feeling that is

exclusive to Black students that have not grown up or been schooled with other Black folk. Dr. Calvin has investigated why White students choose to attend JRU. The percentage of White student attending JRU is 5%.

> I was looking at why do White students come to JRU. So, what the research came out to indicate was that the perception of why these White students came to JRU was because they felt as though they would get a deeper understanding of diversity.

After the students answer the question, one of the students asks him why would he go to an HBCU.

Dr. Calvin responds by saying,

> There is a difference between the classroom here than those at Capital City University. When you go to an HBCU there is a certain expectation that people have. We want the lesson to be culturally relevant to the students. Our mission for you all is to be aware of social justice.

Dr. Calvin explained his approach to teaching whereby he has mastered balancing the use of academic terminology and concepts while remaining relevant to students:

> I also want to separate social justice from culturally relevant pedagogy. Culturally relevant pedagogy is an instructional strategy. And when you use that culturally relevant pedagogy to teach issues in contexts such as social justice. So social justice in and of itself—to me—is content. When you kinda think about—

> why use the term social justice? One, because this is an institution of higher learning and one of the things that we are also trying to [do is] prepare students to [be] scholars. So to be able to use these terms helps them to go on to that masters program that PhD program you know with an understanding of [and] being familiar with [hearing] these kinds of terms. When I talk about epistemology, just throwing out these words that they'll find when they go on to grad school. You know that are [reflecting] about how people see their life so the one part of giving those terminologies and using those concepts and terms is to help elevate their understanding. Help to them understand that this is the scholarly term used to define what we are about to talk about.

In his own analysis Dr. Calvin conceptualized social justice as both a context and content. In doing so, he did not divorce the history and mission of JRU from the content that he taught. It is in this way that he sustains the culture of the institution and the students while holding them to high academic expectations. However, his definition of CRP is divergent from other scholars (Spalding et al., 2010).

Dr. Calvin is intentional in his approach to preparing preservice teachers for both graduate school and careers as educators. This is indicative of the high expectations that he has for students. For Dr. Calvin, teacher education for social justice is about contextualizing content within a specific context, such as an HBCU. Cochran-Smith's (2009) theorization of teacher education for social justice suggested the following:

> Teacher education for social justice is *not* merely activities, but a coherent and intellectual approach to the preparation of teachers that acknowledges the social and political contexts in which teaching, learning, schooling, and ideas about justice have been located historically and the tensions among competing goals. (p. 3)

This quote serves as a summation of everything going on in Dr. Calvin's class; for example, the tension between Booker T. Washington and DuBois along with the acknowledgement of historical and contemporary context of social justice within an HBCU. Him wanting students to know that they are part of history, etc.

The students within Dr. Calvin's classes have freedom. Several students walk up the stairs late to class and others walk down to leave early, they were not heckled about being late or leaving early, but there is a clearly defined attendance policy. This phenomenon is consistent even in Dr. Jimenez's classes. Although there were students that take advantage of attendance policies and the leniency of some professors, many students have legitimate excuses for leaving early, tardiness, and absences.

Dr. Calvin's teaching extends beyond the boundaries of scheduled class time. Sitting outside Dr. Calvin's classroom, I can hear him engage students in discussions that extend beyond class time. Alvin an upperclassmen who has not decided whether or not he wants to be a teacher, engages Dr. Calvin in debates almost everyday after class. Preceding a class discussion on the role of parents in the education of their children, Alvin shares his story of being raised by a single mother in Detroit.

> The way my mother raised me, she had expectations and worked hard so that I didn't have to go to public schools. She raised my siblings and me and put herself through college. Some parents need to learn how to do for themselves, so that their children can have better lives.

Alvin is a high achieving student who prides himself on his work ethic and integrity. As he and Dr. Calvin make their way downstairs from their classroom, Dr. Calvin's response to Alvin's emphasizes that,

> Yes, your mother did a good job taking care of you, but everyone's situation is different. In Detroit, it's difficult to get a job—what about those single parent mothers and fathers who can't find work and afford to send their children to private schools?

Intellectual banter is not uncommon between Dr. Calvin and Alvin, but no matter how divergent their opinions may be, Dr. Calvin's demeanor toward Alvin is always that of an enlightened educator and not one of debate. This is one example of how Dr. Calvin and his students take advantage of teachable moments. The extra time Dr. Calvin spends with Alvin after class is demonstration of how Dr. Calvin models empathy and care to preservice teachers. Alvin is a well-dressed man. His attire consists of dress shoes, a button down shirt, and tie. He is one of few students who abide by the JRU dress code on a daily basis.

Dr. Calvin's office. Within Dr. Calvin's office, is a large desk with books seemingly strategically placed at the front corners. Buried beneath a stack of books in

the left hand corner at the front of his desk is a first edition copy of Gloria Ladson-Billings' *Dream Keepers* (Ladson-Billings, 2009). While I am in his office Dr. Calvin and I have a conversation about teaching first generation and legacy college students:

> Well you know when you talk about first generation students and those that are legacy here, their parents went to college, this college, and different colleges like that. It also comes to sometimes we kinda think about academics and teaching academics. You know we kinda use the term in education called differentiated instruction. And that's basically just being able to breakdown your instruction to ensure that everyone in the program or everyone in the classroom will understand what's going on. I think that maybe one of the bigger challenges in regards to the diversity of the classroom because overall culturally this is an institution [that serves mostly students of color]. The HBCU should be this place where you feel comfortable you know whether you come in as Hispanic whether you come in as [an] African American that culturally you know you're ok, that you are not discriminated against because of your ethnicity. There again there's more commonalities than there are differences, those individual populations have more similarities. As I said for me, it's kinda because I always strive to make these students critical thinkers and some of the students come on different levels of abilities to think critically. To be able to help those first generation students be able to think critically it just, that kinda goes back to that issue of culturally relevant pedagogy. [I] know that they may not have even come from high

schools that were preparing the way that they should have. Have you read *Dream Keepers*?

As I'm thinking about, you know, the student who comes in that is a part of you know recognizing when you take those individual teachers [in *Dream Keepers*] and you look at how they connected and related to the students, that to me is a big part of that sociological base that [I] use to help meet the needs of first generation students. We're going to kinda help connect with them. Help them know that I believe in you. I have confidence in you now. I'm gonna motivate you. I'm a dream keeper. Come on, you telling me you came to college. You wanna go to school? You wanna do this? Come on, let me show you how. Then you kinda have to work with them, you know, a little bit and help them to understand what are the academic expectations this not high school anymore.

Within the classrooms of both Dr. Jimenez and Dr. Calvin, there were clear examples of their attempts to relate to students in a manner that is culturally relevant and sustaining such that they were able to meet the diverse needs of students in the classroom. The balancing act of maintaining and sustaining the community and cultural connections of students while preparing them to operate in mainstream society has been a function of HBCUs from their inception (Willie et al., 2006). Often criticized and rarely highlighted, as a form of social justice within HBCUs, is their reputation for being conservative or inline with the assimilationalist views of Booker T. Washington (DuBois, 1994; Watkins, 2001), while also playing a role in challenging the mainstream

through the cultural empowerment of students (Freeman & Cohen, 2001). Thus, I argue that JRU, like other HBCUs, has been an institution that fosters an academic culture of sustainment while surviving in the mainstream. But this did not occur without tension; students in some instances resist the efforts of the institution to prepare them for "life outside of JRU." The educators within JRU, particularly Dr. Jimenez, manage to find ways to assuage the tension between students and the institution through lessons that are tailored to the interests of students that also promote the values the institution wishes to impose. Dr. Calvin, on the other hand, struggles with tension between JRU losing sight of its mission to educate Black students while also embracing diversity. This speaks to a broader phenomenon of cultural sustainment, whereby the university wishes to remain historically Black while embracing diversity as means of survival. Thus, at the institutional level and classroom level, cultural sustainment in the midst of surviving in the mainstream is imbedded within the curricula. This can be seen in the university's mission and vision statements:

> As an **historically [B]lack institution**, Jackie Robinson University's mission is to provide opportunities to a diverse population for academic achievement with an emphasis on academic excellence, spiritual and ethical development, civic engagement, and leadership in a nurturing environment. *—JRU Mission Statement*

> Jackie Robinson University will be a leader in the education of diverse populations. We will empower students for success in a global society as critical thinkers, lifelong learners, and ethical citizens. —*JRU Vision Statement*

Perhaps the greatest strand of tension among cultural sustainment, institutional sustainment, students, administration, and preparation is the university's dress code.

HBCUs on the Attack

Two years ago, with the appointment of a new provost, JRU initiated a dress code with the expectation that students would not dress wearing hats, sunglasses, revealing clothing, or garments with offensive innuendo. Many of the students, aside from those within the business school, outright defy the imposed code of dress. For students within the department of Kinesiology the dress code holds less meaning because of the requirements to participate in activity courses along with the consideration that many of them were student athletes. Nevertheless, the dress code is a point of contention among administration, faculty, and students. Shania's commentary on the dress code is as follows:

> When the dress code came about, I just knew it wasn't going to happen. Students was not going to dress to [the expectations]. The reason being is because you have different majors at [JRU]. Now if you're [a] business major you're dressed to the part. [If] you're [an] education major or English major you're not gonna dress professionally everyday. They did not ask the student body about the dress code or get our opinion of what we think about the dress code. They didn't even

> do that but at the time we [had] a provost and she came up with the dress code after she seen so many people around campus sagging their pants, wearing tank top t-shirts. She could see part of their body parts basically. So she felt as if she [needed] to a have a dress code. That's why she implemented that dress code, but as she saw once she implemented that dress code they started dressing worse just of the grip because they felt like we're grown we're not in high school anymore. "You shouldn't tell us the way we should dress." So they began to go against the dress code just because most students used to come to class in PJs and t-shirts and wife beaters you know anything that they got out of bed in is how they came to class because they were rebelling against her dress code.

The imposition of dress code within JRU should not be contained within the context of one HBCU. Although JRU, is an individual institution it should not be ignored that other HBCUs have had similar rules scrutinized under controversial circumstances (Snyder, 2010; Wilson, 2012). Harper and Gasman (2008) justified their study of the impact of conservativism on Black men on the campuses of HBCUs due to the historical and contemporary reputation of some of these intuitions as non-agitating, acquiescent, and conservative. In this light, W. E. B. DuBois offered this characterization of the conservative ideologies undergirding some aspects of some HBCUs:

> With all their larger vision and deeper sensibility, these men have usually been conservative, careful leaders. They have seldom been agitators, have withstood

> the temptation to head the mob, and have worked steadily and faithfully in a thousand communities in the South. (DuBois, 1994, p. 63)

There is a history of students attending HBCUs rebelling against authoritarian rules of dress and moral conduct proposed by university administration (Harper & Gasman, 2008). In the 1920s there were a number of "rebellions" by HBCU students with some leading to the ouster of top administrators (Wolters, 1975). The resistance of students to the dress code reflects an uneasiness or tension behind how social justice is disseminated. Presumably, the history of imposing respectability upon Black college students is rooted in racist ideology suggesting that Black people were more prone to be immoral. On one hand, White administrators' application of strict codes of dress was received as racist. On the other hand, Black administrators were seen as aligning themselves with racist ideologies. In one sense, JRU is a necessary incubator for many students who need to mature, but in another, students are adults who want control over their appearances. From the institution's standpoint proper attire is preparation for life and a career outside of JRU whereas students want to express themselves freely as independent adults.

Like Dr. Calvin, Dr. Jimenez makes his lesson relevant to his students' experiences and immediate environment. Issues surrounding events and politics pertaining to JRU were integrated within classroom discussions and lessons. As the kinesiology department chair, Dr. Jimenez wears multiple hats: administrator, research, teacher, and mentor. His style of dress is usually between business causal and causal. He

rarely wears a tie, but usually has on slacks, dress shoes, and a collared shirt. Occasionally, he wears a soccer jersey from one of his favorite premiere league teams. While teaching elementary teaching methods in physical education, he emphasizes the importance of picking your battles as a teacher. “For example, the dress code. The administration did not include the students in their decision to create a dress code. That is a battle that I chose not to fight with students.” Dr. Jimenez did not completely ignore the dress code; he simply chooses not to address it every time a student did not comply, which is more often than not. Alternatively, he integrates the importance of dress and professionalism into lessons. Unlike the approach taken at the institutional level, Dr. Jimenez did not impose the dress code on students, but rather attempts to increase students’ awareness of attire via classroom discussion and humor.

As the students begin to file into class one by one they engage in their typical conversations about school drama, assignments in the other classes, and jokes. One woman slaps another on the butt reminiscent of the gesture used in athletics. It is mid-August and the room is sweltering hot, it is as if the walls themselves have begun to sweat. One of the students, Devin, as soon as he enters the classroom walks over to the windows located on the left side of the room and opens them. “That’s JR for you,” he remarks, as this is not the first time that air conditioner has not been working in this room. As soon as the windows were open, a cool breeze from outside makes the room bearable. Unlike past semesters, the walls of this classroom were covered in posters promoting fitness and healthy eating. On the back wall is a large digital clock with large

red illuminated numbers. In previous semesters, this classroom would best be described as bland and lacking up-to-date technology found in most college classrooms. For example, in previous semesters professors wanting to use slides had to bring their own projector, screen, speakers, and computer. Now all were permanent fixture within the classroom.

Dr. Jimenez walks in with his typical smile, and greets the students as means of breaking up their pre-class conversations. Students, as usual, disperse into their enclaves, but there were only ten students in the class. Dr. Jimenez asked the students to divide into two groups of five people. As soon as the class was divided a group of three students on the baseball team, enter late. There were now three groups of students in the class. As Dr. Jimenez hands each group a large sheet of paper with lines the size of a poster, he says, “I’m trying a new strategy. Hopefully, it will help make you better teachers. I decided to pilot it. .

In his teaching, Dr. Jimenez utilizes a mixture of lecture, large group discussion, small groups discussion, and independent work. He is a progressive physical education teacher educator that experiments with teaching styles and various resources to engage his students.

Lucy, a group of her friends, and Devin were all sitting on the right side of the classroom. Dr. Jimenez comments that they were always sitting together and decides to call the group The Spice Girls. The group of women and Devin then immediately bursts into laughter. Devin did not normally sit with this group of women but because there

were so few students in the class, he joins them. Of all the students in Dr. Jimenez's classes, the one who dresses in the most liberal fashion is Devin; a 6'5" forward on the basketball team who is a self identified gay Black man. On any given day, Devin could have his hair styled with a fro-hawk while wearing gold earrings, a tight pink t-shirt, pink sneakers, and a Barbie necklace. However, on other occasions Devin is the most professionally dressed student in the class, wearing dress shirt, tie, and freshly polished shoes. Interestingly, because Devin is also part of the university's only Latino fraternity, on some days he can be seen wearing his purple and black line jacket, which is decorated with ornate Greek letters.

Despite the use of humor to engage students, the room is still not quite cool enough for comfort. Several students in the class were using their notepads as fans. In the front left hand corner is Katy, the only White person in class. Shania and other members of the Kinesiology Club executive board were sitting in the front, center of class. In the back were a group of baseball players and Philly, who used to play on the basketball team. Philly gets his name because he is known for being from Philadelphia; he is one of few students attending JRU from a large northeastern city. He has a reputation for being the quintessential low achiever, a student who cares more about being cool than his education. Philly is dressed with well kept, brand new Jordan sneakers, baggy sweatpants that sag below his behind, a black t-shirt, a black doo-rag, and gold jewelry, including the grill in his mouth. By the look of his forearm and neck, I assume that his body is covered in tattoos. While Philly often represents the prime

example of how JRU did not want students to dress, nearly none of the students in class abide by the dress code. A group of Latino students on the baseball team wears caps; mesh basketball shorts, and sneakers. Women in the classroom often wear jean shorts that do not cover their thighs. Lucy, who is on the softball team, wears her jersey and baseball cap turned to the side.

"So I got a funny email today. It came from a professor at another HBCU," says Dr. Jimenez as he uploads three pictures of African Americans attached as one in meme similar to those seen on Facebook.

Figure 4. Black Colleges on the Attack

As the picture appears in the screen, there is an outburst of laughter and students throughout the class begin having side conversations about the pictures on the screen. They can be seen snickering and laughing within their enclaves. Dr. Jimenez smiles as

the students seem to enjoy the picture. Humor is one way that Dr. Jimenez chooses to engage his students, he did this as means to make content relevant to students.

> I'm a firm believer that you have to create a climate in your classroom that students feel that's conducive to learning. And when you have such a diverse way of learning styles, you know some of my students are hands-on, some of my students are more listening, some of them are more visual interest. When you have such a diversity in terms of learning styles try to find the best way for all of them to feel that they're needs in terms of learning are taking place becomes a challenge.
>
> So I usually put myself in the situation when I was a student. You know I went to the typical lecture system, professor in the front of the podium going lecture you have to pick up the notes that you thought were important. It was really little active learning taking place in the undergrad students. I always felt like learning was so boring, so I felt that learning was very boring.

After redirecting the students, a conversation involving the entire class ensues about the presence of "ratchetness" on the JRU campus. Many of the women in the class comment about the way other women dress on campus. "I saw this girl on campus wearing fishnets and a shirt with her belly hanging out."

"The way people dress on campus its like they are going to the club or something. They look so ratchet."

"The way students dress is important, I saw one time one of the alumni were on campus and she saw this student dressed in a shirt and tie and she gave him a scholarship on the spot."

Dr. Jimenez uses this opportunity to segue into a broader conversation about professionalism. The conversation sparked by Dr. Jimenez using the image sent from a colleague was used as an attention grabber to peak student interest into a conversation about appropriate dress on campus. Instead of imposing rules about attire, he attempts to engage students in a conversation about the need for appropriate dress but did so in such a way the students were leading the conversation. By incorporating a topic like the dress code, Dr. Jimenez did not shy away from tensions within the JRU community. In doing so, he makes lessons relevant to the context with which students reside, while also incorporating concepts of professional development necessary for students' transitions into the workforce.

Wallace's perspective on the dress code. Although students laugh and joke about the dressing habits of their schoolmates, there remains a point of contention with the inconsistent application of the dress code. One day while Wallace was attempting to attend weekly chapel sessions, he was told that he could not enter because of the way he was dressed.

> I was going, but I wasn't going, I guess I could say. Cause our [head basketball] coach wants us to go to chapel. So during basketball season we would go every Thursday. Before I wasn't going to chapel because I had a t-shirt and basketball

shorts on and they wouldn't let me in. Well, they didn't let me in that day. But then a female that had like a little miniskirt they let her in.

Wallace, like Dr. Jimenez, is tactful in his response to rules and regulations. One day while Wallace was in class with another professor he was asked to take his hat off:

> I wear a baseball cap everyday [then one day a] professor told me it was a distraction you telling me, you tell me about a baseball cap is a distraction but the female that's sitting in front of you, her skirts up to here, her shorts up to here. That's not distracting? Distracting me!! Cause I'm gonna look. But my baseball cap…
>
> If you tell me to take my hat off, I'm not gonna act an ass about it. I'm gonna take it off, but guaranteed I'm gonna wear it again tomorrow. You might just [be having] one of them days [where] you [are not] on the top rung of the ladder. [You're] in the middle but the people above you was getting on you. So you know they say it rolls down hill. So, you just have to see me take my damn hat off—I take it off. Then the next day I have it back on and then you'll see me and won't even say nothing about it.

Lucy's perspective on the dress code. Other students have a different take on the dress code. Lucy and her friend Malaya where leaving the library. Dr. Jimenez notices Lucy and begins a conversation with her, but stops when he notices Malaya's clothing.

> I came from a military school…so I understand it, but now that I'm in college I'm like, oh yeah, I can wear hats and then they start enforcing it. Even in the library, I have to take it off but Dr. Jimenez doesn't make me or he doesn't tell Philly anything. But the other day he did tell Malaya, the girl that sits behind me, [to change clothes]. Her shirt was black but it was like it's see-through material, netty almost, and I didn't notice until he said it, her undergarments or whatever. And he told her, "you need to cover that up." He was laughing about it but you can tell it was distracting.
>
> But I don't know if it was because it was certain sections but I mean he doesn't tell Chicago pull up your pants. You know what I mean? It's because she is a female and things like that. Maybe like offensive things or not offensive, but things that could be portrayed wrong.

For the most part students disagree with the university-imposed dress code, but there is an unwritten code of dress among students. Students involved with fraternities and sororities, like Devin, often wear their line jackets to special events, including probates, basketball games, etc. On one occasion, students policed one of their own. Lucy tells the story of a former student attending JRU:

> We had a student, I don't think he's here anymore, he was a drag queen. Sometimes he would do shows downtown and people were like "ill." He would come dressed like that to school. I kind of understand, but people would say stuff like oh that's so trashy, blah, blah, blah. He would come dressed in like short

skirts things like that, with his hair and makeup done, things like that, but people made such a big deal about it. It kind of offended me. I was like, people made such a big deal about him dressing like that but they don't make a big deal about it when our regular girls dress like that.

Planning for the Future and Closing *The Gap*

Besides bridging The Gap between administration and students through CRP, Dr. Jimenez also bridges The Gap between life at JRU and the so-called real world. Furthermore, he utilizes feedback from former students to inform his current lessons. Upon his arrival to JRU, Dr. Jimenez was confronted with emails and phone calls from recent graduates who had no idea what they wanted to do with their lives. Thus a major emphasis embedded within the curriculum of Dr. Jimenez's course was professional and personal development.

Using his new techniques, students divide themselves into groups of three or four and begin talking about their career aspirations. They were prompted with a question that asks, "Why are you here?" Students who do not leave their selected enclaves work with students whom they would not typically interact. By having students work together cooperatively in class, high achieving students sometimes work with low achieving students. On other occasions, students with whom high achieving students have labeled as low achievers discover that they have misjudged some of their classmates.

You know Ricky?…he's real serious about his work too he's just very to himself also but when he speaks—when was it, last semester [in] teaching methods, …he

would always be in Katy's group, the volleyball player, the one with the raspy voice—I really noticed how Ricky thought. When we would have groups and we'd always have to present ideas and discuss it. That's when I figured out that Ricky has a good mindset he has a good head on his shoulders.

Even students, who were otherwise disconnected, like Katy, were put in situations where they must interact with other students. Students share their dreams, some want to be coaches, others teachers, entrepreneurs, or professors. This is one way that Dr. Jimenez addresses The Gap between students. For those students who were not high achieving or highly motivated it serves as an opportunity for them to grow through interaction with their peers.

I am sitting near the group on the left hand side of the classroom. One student, Philly, a Black man, is very active in his group from the beginning. Philly is so engaged that he often speaks when other people were talking, including Dr. Jimenez. Instead of sitting in the chair, he decides to sit on top of the desk. This is not an aberration for Dr. Jimenez's class; there were several occasions when students sit on top of desks instead of in their seats. When the groups begin to take turns answering the prompt put forward by Dr. Jimenez, Philly answer first as representative of his group. His reasons for being there were God and family. Themes shared by many the groups include education, athletics, and graduation. Several students talk about their individual goals. Another student says, "I want to teach others what I was able to learn, so they can get ahead in life faster."

Philly, remains steadfast in his day-to-day approach to life. “I don’t really think about really the future, I’m just trying to make it to the next day. I’m going to college because I told my grandmother I was going to get a degree.”

Dr. Jimenez is transparent with his students as he shares that the reason he decided to do this activity is that after talking with his former students he discovered that many of them had no idea what they wanted to do. As Dr. Jimenez is speaking Philly says, “A degree is just a piece of paper.” Many of the students agree saying that they know people who cannot find jobs.

However, one of the women in Lucy’s group dissents saying “Yeah, but once you get it, no one can take that [education] away from you.”

Dr. Jimenez’s integration of professionalism and long term goal planning is a response to the needs of students who were like Philly. A major problem Dr. Jimenez has sought to combat is the number of students who graduate without purpose.

A conversation with Philly. The student known as Philly fits the profile of someone with potential to graduate without a purpose. One day after class, I decided to walk with Philly as I walk to my car. Although he is indentified as a low achieving student, he has the same social presence on campus as Shania. Like Shania, he can be seen greeting and shaking hands with numerous students as he walks around campus. He is like a savvy politician, although he is known as an academic misfit with a street mentality, he is greeted with respect by his peers. His infamy, as the quintessential example of a “student that should not be here,” is matched by his popularity amongst his

peers. In our conversation, he acknowledges that he is aware of how people view him. "People think I'm not smart, but where I come from I'm street smart. I know I'm intelligent, but I'm just trying to make it to the next day."

In Dr. Jimenez's class, on occasion, Philly clandestinely sends text messages and more often than not, Philly is late to class. On occasion, he brings his toddler son to class, who also wears Jordan sneakers. Shania described Philly in the following way:

> We have a guy; they call him Philly. He's been in kinesiology for seven years, seven years, and this your semester to graduate you have not changed throughout your seven years of going to JR. The same thing you've done your freshmen year you're [in] your seventh year about to graduate. When I mean the same thing is, you're not attending class, you turn in work late, and really to be honest everybody in kinesiology just feels like you're graduating because everybody's tired of you. They are tired of dealing with you. So they're just like ok we gonna pass him just for him to graduate. Because you've been there to long and you're doing the same thing you've done as a freshmen there is no growth. You didn't grow at all.

Although he displays behaviors that ideal students would not, in Dr. Jimenez's class Philly is not a disengaged student, pessimistic but not disengaged. Dr. Jimenez uses statistics to share health and educational disparities within Black and Latino communities. He did this to emphasize that once students graduate they were responsible for making changes in their communities. On one occasion, Philly suggested, "Nothing

really changes, and there is nothing I can do to make changes where I come from." Although his statement is nihilistic, the fact that he engages in class discussion suggested that he is cognizant of the material.

When asked if there have been any changes in Philly since his time at JRU Dr. Jimenez said the following:

> He did and many times, I think that he was more understanding of the dynamics of the relationship of faculty and students. I think that he developed more of a sense of respect even at times when you disagree with your faculty. He did see it all the time as, "Oh you just hate me…" and things like that. I think that the understanding that at times thinking twice before you respond aggressively or you say something later that could really harm your opportunities was also very advisable. He told me about something that happened to him. Playing basketball, a pick-up basketball [game] somewhere in Capital City, he said that they were playing and he said that everyone was African American except one dude. And one of the guys who was playing basketball was drunk but he was also part of a gang called, I think, like the Crips, and said that this guy started to pick on the White guy. "There the White guy is…"
>
> So this Black guy is drunk and he's picking on the White guy and Martin [a pseudonym for Philly's first name], says that he feels like he's playing all that stuff. But then he feels like, man, you know the White guy's not doing anything.

Why you picking on him? So he said that he told the Black guy, “Let the [White] guy go. You know he’s really not doing anything.”

He even told the White guy, “You know what, you should go man cause this guy, you know, its not safe for you to be here.”

And he said that the White guy said, “Dude, but I’m just playing basketball. I’m not doing anything to anybody and just, you know, chilling.”

So now he said that everybody like chill along the side but that when the White guy left he tells me that this guy started saying, “people should mind their own business” and they use a lot of profanity words, words that of, you know, the N word and stuff like that, you know, “nigga this.”

Martin knew that he was talking about him. He said that in his mind it was like well, when I’m with my girlfriend, I’m with my son and he just went back and said, “you know what man, I didn’t want to get into your business, but I was thinking if [I] do something to that dude then the cops are gonna come. Most of us have background with the police. Probably, most of us will go to jail, it will probably affect my ability to graduate from school.” They will prolly not let him play [basketball] anymore. So he started outlining all the things that could be if this dude does something to this White dude.

He said that when he left he felt like he was a chicken cause he didn't fight the guy, but he said that in his mind what's always going around, what would Dr. Jimenez tell me and he understood I have my son, I have my girlfriend, I'm about to get going in school its not worth it. It's better things than this moment he still didn't let go, he was feeling that he wanted to punch the guy but he understood that it was not necessary. I think that it would not have been the case if it would have been the Martin I met the first time I came to JR.

When I came to JRU, the first time, the Martin I met was screaming outside that he was gonna shoot half of campus because one of our professors told him, that because of his background, he was almost destined to cheat and steal and felt that was very disrespectful stuff. So he wanted to beat a bunch of people. So when I hear this guy scream I'm like, "What the hell is going on?"

So somebody told Martin, "he's the department chair you should talk to him."

So this guy is really mad, I could see the anger in his face. I was talking but every word I said was carefully chosen so he would not beat me up cause I felt if I said something wrong, this is going to take against me because I was the department chair. But I started talking to him and I start relating to him the fact that I came from New York City from a very poor neighborhood and my house was next to the projects in New York City. I told him about going to high school, there was a lot of gang related stuff, so I start talking about my experiences there

> and how coming to college, so I tried to really [make] a case [for] how his background, although different than mine, wasn't really different. We were both in a college setting in very different environment and if you deal with things the same way you would deal with them back in the neighborhood you would always have the same outcome that you did in the neighborhood. It wouldn't end well. So that moment, it was about a two hour chat, let him cool down but he kind of felt like he could come and talk to me and I could really lay it out straight. He felt that most of the faculty here were just, you know, putting him down and kind of like patronizing him and making him feel like he's not smart. He always tells me, "I might not be really good in academics but I'm not stupid I'm very smart I'm street smart." I think that that relationship really helping graduate, I mean he graduated in the spring.

The one-on-one interactions spent with students represents an extension of the culturally relevant and sustaining practices utilized in the classroom. These interactions also represent a form of caring, whereby Dr. Jimenez's ability to relate to Philly is an empathetic attempt to create change in the life of a student. Philly is not the only student who garners extra attention from Dr. Jimenez, students on both sides of The Gap, high and low achievers, spend time outside of class with Dr. Jimenez. In addition to the culturally sustaining pedagogy that occurs in the classroom, throughout the university there were also clear examples of how JRU provides a nurturing and culturally (politically) relevant/sustaining environment for students.

The Way They Care

Perhaps the most evident example of how Dr. Jimenez cares for his students is exemplified in his high expectations. He consistently reiterates that students should not take his kindness for weakness. This approach to care has been described as hard caring, whereby an instrumental relationship with students is combined with high expectations (Antrop-González & De Jesús, 2006). Dr. Jimenez is able to effectively relate and teach with humor without sacrificing high academic expectations.

Caring has been expressed as a form of social justice in teaching and teacher education, but has also been critiqued and reimaged to recognize culturally diverse ways of caring (Knight, 2004). In the African American tradition, notions of caring have provided theoretical underpinnings for preparing preservice teachers as change agents (Knight, 2004). Although Dr. Jimenez is not an African American, his teaching highlights the need for his students to be examples and conduits of change within their communities. This message is conveyed to all students, the majority of whom are Black. By listening his students' stories, he is able to relate their personal experiences to their education and future as professionals. He also applies the notion that caring takes place in multiple forms; in his interactions with Latina/o students, he is sure to address them in Spanish as an affirmation of their culture. However, the ethos of care is not limited to student interaction with Dr. Jimenez, rather caring is something imbedded in the culture of the institution. Shania tells the story of her original visit to JRU:

Well before I left CCU, I was looking for a school and I was applying. I applied to St. Nicholas, I applied to Concord, and I applied to JR. I visited all three of those universities. But it was just something about JR that felt more family-orientated. It was like the faculty and staff; they just love students no matter how they look—no matter what—where you are coming from, you know whatever. They just love the students and they love to see the students [succeed]. My first experience going to JR's campus I was on crutches 'cause I had messed up my knee. So I was on crutches, so you know coming up there whatever and they were going to give me a tour and the lady was like, "why didn't you tell me [you were] on crutches? You know I could have reserved you a cart. You know I could have rolled you around."

I'm like. "No, I'm good, I'm good."

So, as soon as I get on campus to take the tour here comes the security guard with the golf cart. He was like, "here you know you guys take it, you don't have to register. Just take it. You know, help her out, take her to every building."

And as soon as that happened, she took the cart [then] took me to every building. And that particular day I got to meet at least six professors and [they were] like, "Yeah, yeah, yeah, you should come to this school you would be a great asset." It was just the, I guess a hands on experience and that's just how professors are.

They keep in contact with their students. If you miss class they are either sending you an email or sending you a text "Hey what's going on? Are you ok?," if you miss too many classes. I guess I should say if you're a regular student they just know you don't come to class then that's a different story, but if you're a regular and you're always in class they may get in their business to check on you to see what's going on. They are always in contact with their students and showing that they care so that was the most important thing, that's the reason, the main reason why I chose JR.

Shania's description of the love and care provided by JRU is in stark contrast to her criticism of the standards or lack thereof within JRU. Wallace has similar opinions about the caring nature of JRU:

I chose to go to JR because it was closer to my mom's, figured I would get a… I coulda went to CCU but I thought I would get lost up there. I'd just be just another ID number you know. At JRU you know they actually know, you know what I'm saying? We have, they make you feel like they care. They probably don't, but just because, not saying they prolly don't but some care more than others.

Prime example, my English professor Miss Hamilton, we had to be like 11 people in the class, there is one female, she just stopped coming. It's like she fell of the face of the earth. So she would ask, "Was she there? Was she there?" And this was a semester or two ago, and every time she sees me, to this day she still

asks, “Have you seen her?” That means she was more than just a student number. You know, she actually had, she actually built something for her. You know at CCU, I would come or don’t go to class drop from the roll could have fell of a building or something “oh well.” I haven’t been in school in so long, I figure in small classes I could learn better.

As consistent as there were complaints about the rigor or standards of the institution, there is an understanding that JRU is a caring and nurturing place that loves and cares for students and their success. Similar to Shania, Dr. Jimenez also recognized the efforts of JRU to foster student success is unmatched in his experience:

> I have to say that of all the universities I have been, at this one there is a real interest to help the students be successful, real interest! From the faculty, from the administration, this is a really student oriented institution. To give you an example, some of the people that work in academic advising and what they call academic excellence, will follow students on campus, they will follow and make sure you go to class. I remember what happened with me once waiting by the stairs and someone asked me “Dr. Jimenez, is this student going to class?”
>
> That [is] the kind of support [we give to make] sure the students do well. Although they’re limited with the resources, [JRU] something [I have not] seen anywhere. [There] is a real, real concern that the students do well, a high, high concern for student retention. Many times I [have said if] all universities [followed] a similar approach maybe some of the universities will be more

> successful retaining and ethnic minorities. But as I said from the positive side, a real interest for the students. You know there is a real [sense of] caring [among] the faculty. People here like each other. People really are welcoming, friendly, and to the extent they could help you they would. You know in another sense, I think that that chemistry has worked really well for me. [It has balanced] the limited resources [and allowed me] do some of the stuff I want because the setting really makes you feel comfortable.

Othermothering and otherfathering. Thus far the manifestations of care presented in this chapter were consistent with research on HBCUs that emphasized a culturally relevant system of othermothering (Hirt et al., 2008).

> Othermothering and community othermothering can be defined as African American women's maternal assistance offered to the children of blood mothers within the African American community. Originally traced to slavery, Othermothering was a survival mechanism that served as a vehicle for educational and cultural transmission. (Case, 1997)

Thus, the care provided by JRU also functions as a means of cultural sustainment. As an institution, JRU exemplifies the role of Alma Mater, Latin for Loving Mother. Examples of this are the descriptions of faculty and staff members escorting Shania during her first visit to the campus; Dr. Jimenez's account of faculty checking to make sure students attend class; and Wallace's story of the professor who demonstrated concern for a student when she disappeared.

The caring nurturing environment provided by JRU is not limited to the student experience; Dr. Jimenez recognizes that he has also benefited from the care given at JRU. In the midst of financial hardships, the lack of resources available to faculty within the university is subsidized by the collective efforts of faculty and staff to support one another.

To add further context to the stories of care shared by Dr. Jimenez, Shania, and Wallace, before arriving at JRU each encountered relatively traumatic experiences. In light of trauma, JRU provides a contrasting experience to those encountered in other higher education settings. For example, Dr. Jimenez transitioned from a hostile work environment where he believed his work was questioned and unfairly scrutinized. Shania is a transfer student from CCU, where she witnessed the death of a fellow student by suicide during her freshmen year in addition to breaking her leg. As for Wallace in addition to his mother's illness, during his active duty time in the military he was shot in the face during combat. Lucy, who also shares the sentiments of care provided by the institution, decided to attend JRU in the wake of her best friend dying of a terminal illness. They were planning to attend the university together as teammates on the softball team. Stories such as these were not unique to the informants in this study. Many of the students who attend JRU have had traumatic experiences in the wake of or during their attendance at the university.

On a smaller scale, the interactions between students and professors—Dr. Jimenez and Dr. Calvin—parallel the role of the institution as they fulfill the role of

otherfather. The concept of otherfathering rests on the notion that paternal relationships go deeper than biological parenting (Haney & March, 2003). Shania regarded Dr. Jimenez in the following way:

> Dr. Jimenez is like a father away from home to me. I really love Dr. Jimenez's philosophy of teaching. I love everything that he does. Basically, I'm one of those students the he shows more tough love to than others. I asked him why he does me like that. Some papers he grades me really, really hard on and I asked him, why he was like that. [He said it was] because, "I know your capabilities and sometimes you turn in your work [but was is clear that] you rushed through it. You waited til the last minute to write it."
>
> He can tell the difference in my work. He can tell when I take my time and do it in advance and he can tell when I just bull-crap and procrastinate and wrote it a couple of hours before class. You know what I mean? So he knows the difference in my work. He takes the time out to get to know his students, you know, on the personal level as well as academic level. When I say on a personal level, he shares his story with us like where he came from. You know, New York…what he grew up in, you know the type of family he had. He wants to know the same thing about us. You know, what type of family we grew up in…. [He ask us,] "What was something you thought was bad, you know, in your family situation?" You know, things like that and just by that connection that he makes with students he makes it his goal to make sure you know that you get

through that, going through college, and even if he's only with you a semester or two you will see a difference in your life. You will see a difference in your academic work you would just see a difference.

The concept of otherfathering is exemplified in the caring that occurs within JRU through personal relationships and one-on-one interactions with professors. For example, Dr. Calvin's conversations with Alvin after class and his approach to "showing first generation college students how to do college." For Dr. Jimenez, he exhibits authentic caring; a type caring defined as reciprocal relationships between teachers (teacher educators) and students (preservice teachers) (Valenzuela, 1999). He exhibits this through his interactions with Latino students whereby he intentionally speaks Spanish during his one-on-one conversations with students. This approach to communicating with students is linked to impromptu conversations about code switching in class. Lucy reflected on how Dr. Jimenez models code switching for his Latina/o students:

> [Code switching is] when you turn, like you know how to go from one way to different way. I think he might have mentioned it in class the other day. So like you don't change the attitude but you change the way you talk to someone. Things like that…he talks in Spanish with his Latina/o or Hispanic students.
>
> It actually caught me of guard because [at the time] he had never done that to me. But I've seen him do that to other student. He said in Spanish "do you understand me?" And I was like, oh yeah. We weren't talking we were just

walking to the same building and he said it and I was like, "whoa!!" And that's when we started talking about PhD and stuff. I guess [he did that] just because it was natural.

Dr. Jimenez's interactions with students during class were different from the personal conversations with students. In the classroom, he clearly makes efforts to teach congruently with the culture of Black students.

Understanding and expectations. Besides serving as models for culturally relevant and caring teaching practices, Dr. Jimenez is also explicit in his teaching with regard to social justice. The ethnographic sketch presented here is of a class that took place a few weeks before the election of Barak Obama's second term as President of the United States of America. This scene did not include many of the students mentioned earlier because it takes place 1- 1.5 years prior those events. However, both Wallace and Dr. Jimenez were still present.

Dr. Jimenez says, "We do so much of the typical stuff, but there are some who may not like it. Everyone has their own interests." His comments are referencing the lack of exposure given to students in Physical Education. Typical activities such as basketball, baseball, or football may not interest many of the students his prospective teachers will encounter. He is quick to remind them that the majority of students that they teach will not be athletes. Dr. Jimenez uses this approach to stress that as physical education teachers his preservice teachers will need to make fitness a priority.

Like Dr. Calvin, Dr. Jimenez engages students in dialogue, not traditional lectures. As he speaks with students and students speak with one another he uses the white board the create depictions of their conversations. Rather the writing notes on the board and then have students take notes, Dr. Jimenez takes notes of the class conversation on the board.

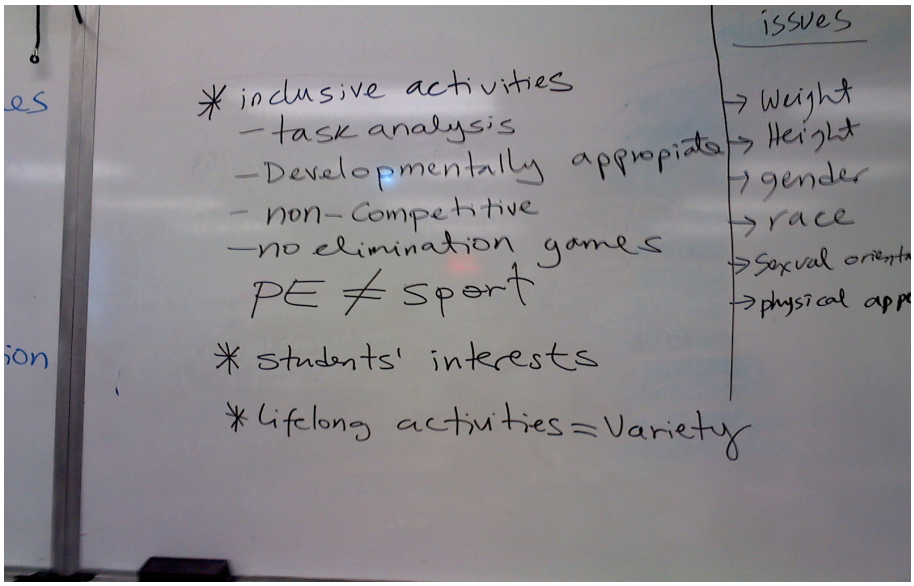


Figure 5. Dr. Jimenez's Class Notes

"Teachers should not share students PA levels with the entire class." Dr. Jimenez also stated, "Do not grade students based upon fitness levels. Why is that unprofessional or unethical?"

One of the students answers, "there are many factors involved with fitness."

Jimenez then responds with an affirmative, "If you are going to grade students on fitness, they should do the same to teachers to their jobs. How many you have seen physical education teachers that are out of shape?" All of the students in class raise their

hands. “If a physical education teacher wants to grade students harshly for poor fitness levels, fucking fire you.” The students burst out into laughter.

Next, he emphasizes that as physical education teachers it also their responsibility to educate parents about keeping students fit. He then mentions that some parents who were poor have children that are on Medicaid. Explaining whether or not students believe that the government should be involved with health care, Medicaid and insurance work the same ways, “It’s a pot. If one person always goes to the doctor everyone pays more.” This conversation is presented in the broader context of the impending election and national controversy surrounding universal healthcare. Dr. Jimenez simultaneously explained the need for quality physical education that did the most good within these future teachers’ gymnasia, while contextualizing the need for quality physical education within the broader American political context.

This approach to teaching is typical for Dr. Jimenez. Much like culturally sustaining pedagogy is a renaming and evolution of CRP, Dr. Jimenez pedagogy also aligns with Beauboeuf-Lafontant's (1999) conception of CRP as a politically relevant pedagogy.

In her description of CRP as a politically relevant pedagogy Tamara Beauboeuf-Lafontant (1999) explained the following:

> While cultural similarity and understanding between teachers and students are certainly helpful, these points of connection are not sufficient for addressing and remedying the contemporary problems of underachievement, alienation, and

> dropout that too many students of color experience. In order to emphasize the political understanding of social systems of power and a personal commitment to educating children regardless of their social origins, I have renamed culturally relevant teaching as politically relevant teaching. This renaming is an attempt to expand the concept of culturally relevant teaching, by drawing attention to the political clarity, or the courage and savvy, of such educators committed to reaching out to and successfully educating "other people's children." (N.P.)

Although Dr. Jimenez did not minimize the importance of understanding the culture of his students, he has a commitment to educating students in such a way that acknowledges the historical, contemporary, political, and social context with which he teaches, while simultaneously informing students about the context which with they will be teaching.

Typically, the last ten minutes of class were spent returning assignments and giving reminders to students. On this day, he also emphasized that students should be turning in their assignments on time. He also reminded students that it is their responsibility to review the syllabus. He uses this approach to differentiate himself from professors that do not maintain academic standards with regard to turning assignments in a timely fashion. "See, some of you think I am a nice guy, but when we get to the end of the semester you won't think that I am nice."

Using behavior management as a reference, he asks students to raise their hands if they think they were adults. The majority of them raise their hands. Jimenez then

explained the importance of behaving like responsible adults with regard to their schoolwork and how they present themselves in class and the community.

> But you know the reality is you know there has been some problems of marijuana use around campus and there is a local elementary school [that] once sent a complaint to the university of students from JR smoking weed nearby, you know, outside of campus, I have seen it, but close to the elementary school. They're like, we know they are your students and they are wearing JR stuff. But the first time the opportunity happened to me, like a week ago and this student walks in to one exam, you know, I could smell the weed literally, heavy. But he does not shows hints of it, he finished his exams he walks out but the smell is there. I know I wasn't the only one because when he walked out half of the class was like, "damn." And then I asked some students, you also smell it, yeah. I was like "what do you think it was?", and I had just asked unofficial. You know these are some of the things I take very personal, because you are not only educating people but you are preparing [them] to be future members of the general community. These are people that one day they will be out beyond faculty of JR. These are people that one day may have one of your kids in their classroom. These are people who may one day find themselves in a position, and for some moment of immaturity they lose it all. So, I wanted them to be able to understand why they need to make the right choices, or many times not just make the right

choices, but why. Many times they expect other people to make the right choices, but they themselves don't always make the right choices.

For example…you see a kid out there trying to, you know, write in a book and you say, hey don't write in that book. You are going to destroy it. You should take care of it, but you as an adult write in the book. So you tell the kid not to write in the book but you do write in your book. So when you see an adult writing in a book you say they're taking notes. But they're writing their main ideas. But you tell the kid not to do so. I always tell them that many times we expect people to behave in a way that many times we don't behave [ourselves]. So you know, we ask kids in a physical education class to pay attention, to follow the rules, and to behave so they can learn. But you as a college student spend half of the day in a class looking at your cell phone, not paying attention to the class, doing things make faculty wonder if you really don't care about teaching.

Dr. Jimenez's approach to teaching also incorporates educational, professional, moral, and social development. Above all, he is sure that his approach to teaching students is commensurate with their learning styles while maintaining high expectations. Shania talks about how Dr. Jimenez is responsible for maintaining high standards:

Dr. Jimenez provides the expectation. The reason I'm saying that is because we have some students that were, you know, on [Philly's] level, that didn't care. You know what I mean. Some students that were on Philly's level but through

some of the talks and real life situations that Dr. Jimenez gives sometimes before class or after class. Even during office hours like when he just talks to people of the wing. Like he lets them know like, "No, this is not [real] life at JRU. You know after graduating from JRU if you don't know nothing, nobody is going to hire you. It's no point of you being here getting a degree."

And a lot of people has changed because of the words that he's said, even though people feel as it's tough love, he don't care. This, that, and the other, but that's the way he shows that love to us. Through teaching us, you know through mentoring us through looking at our work and putting 'Fs' on the paper and saying, "I'm not going to change it." You know what I mean? Brings people into reality and makes them change their situation, makes them stop being that student that just there because grandma wants me to be there, to being that student that [like] "I want this degree and I want to become a physical therapist, I want to become a coach, I know I want to help change lives." you know what I mean?

Dr. Jimenez's display of high expectations were similar to that of Dr. Calvin's, he is intentional about his preparation of students for graduate school.

Graduate school preparation. Unlike most days when students were separated into groups, on this day students were divided into pairs. Most of them have chosen to sit with someone that they were familiar with. Ricky sits with one of his teammates from the baseball team, and Lucy sits with a teammate. Once students divide themselves, Dr.

Jimenez passes out a sheet of paper with a grid containing familiar philosophies applied to physical education. Students then discuss which philosophy (i.e., idealism, realism, pragmatism, naturalism, existentialism, humanism and/or constructivism) applies to their view of teaching physical education; in some cases students fit into multiple philosophical categories. This activity is used to help students develop and connect their own teaching philosophy to theoretical foundations. In addition to gaining an in depth understanding of the theoretical foundations of physical education, students were also required to interpret data:

> So when I came into the classroom and I started to tell students I'm going to show you that you are capable of quality work, they were challenged. Because all the professors wouldn't ask of them to do things that they didn't think about. I mean I have some of my students in some of my classes go through surveillance data of the CDC and interpreting that data. When they never believe they could understand how people come up with reports. My students do that. So I do stuff that sometimes even grad students are asked to do to show my students that you are capable of this work but the first thing that you need to overcome is for you to believe that you are a capable of doing it. And that's why I took the position here at JRU.

In addition to incorporating graduate level work within the classroom, Dr. Jimenez encourages students to attend graduate school through one-on-one interactions,

trips to conferences, and guest speakers. Reminiscing on a visit to a state conference, Shania stated the following:

> But we went up there [and] we got to meet a lot of people. I got to meet an athletic trainer that trained for the Spurs and The Nets. It was just like man this man is awesome. I got to meet different students that were in graduate school. They were in graduate school at Southern Women's University, doing adapted physical education. They were telling us we should come and visit their campus just to see what adapted physical education is about, and I think at that time I was, no, I haven't taken adapted physical education yet. So I wasn't too aware what the class was about. So I was like yeah, yeah, that'd be cool, just agreeing, you know, whatever. So, um, you know, I got to connect with them. I got to connect with other local [professionals].

For Lucy the notion of going to graduate school is constantly reinforced. Since Dr. Jimenez's arrival at JRU she has been in the process of being groomed for graduate school.

> So he stopped me the other day after one of the Kinesiology Association meetings and he asked me if I wanted to get a PhD and I'm like, "Yeah. I'm real serious about it. Like I really want to."
>
> And he said, "Are you serious about adapted physical education?" Because I had talked to him about it before. I wanted to but now I'm just not really sure and he suggested exercise physiology just because, like, do something you're going to

enjoy but also keep in mind, like, what jobs you're going to find. Things like that. And I was like, yeah, that's true, and I'm kinda getting into the exercise physiology stuff. And he said I can still do that and work with adapted, uh, physical education still and rehab and things like that.

In February of 2013, Dr. Jimenez was responsible for bringing a guest speaker, Dr. Simon, a professor at Owen State for the JRU Black History Month Lecture. Afterwards, Lucy was one of few students invited to have dinner with the guest speaker. This was an opportunity for Lucy to get insight from someone who mentored Dr. Jimenez while he attended Owen State University. Her thoughts on the presentation and dinner were as follows:

Yeah, it was so much. That really woke me up. And he said what the, I think it was 3% of the nation has their PhDs or 1% of the nation has PhDs, and then for minorities to have it it's like even less. That's what blew my mind. When Dr. Samson was saying that I was like, "what?"

During his whole presentation I was listening to him and I was understanding. I was really mainly thinking about me and I was just like, wow, if I could really pull this off then this is going to be awesome. I remember going home that night and telling my parents about it. You know the nation only has this many people that have a PhD. You know how crazy that would be if I actually got mine. That's what I was thinking during the whole presentation.

As a first generation college student of Mexican American decent, Lucy's exposure to the politics and process of going to and through graduate school were enhanced by her interactions with Dr. Jimenez both inside and outside the classroom. Just as much as Dr. Jimenez brings relatable content about JRU into the classroom he also uses his own past experiences as teachable moments to prepare his students for the challenges of graduate school. This is one way that Dr. Jimenez bridges The Gap between where students were, and where students could be.

On more than one occasion, he shared the story of how he and a Black student attending Owen State were enrolled in two graduate classes with the same professor in one semester. Because the professor had low expectations for the Black and Latina/o students, the professor encouraged Dr. Jimenez and his classmate to drop one of the courses. The other students in the courses, those who were of European and Asian descent were not asked to drop any of the courses. As he shared this story with his students, he mentioned that his classmate was convinced to drop out of one the courses, but he decided to stay. He goes on to tell his students that while in the courses the professor would constantly uses statistics to remind students of how Black and Latino/a students have low achievement levels. He closes his story with the moral that he got an "A" in both classes and that he never let other people's low expectations of him dictate how well he would do.

Unlike his own experience, Dr. Jimenez uses stories and statistics as an attempt to motivate and provide a rigorous experience for students. Ironically, Dr. Jimenez's

example of a professor encouraging certain students of color to drop courses is reminiscent of the aesthetic caring demonstrated by teachers in Angela Valenzuela's *Subtractive Schooling (1999).* Aesthetic caring is that which is often rooted in a commitment to superficial "ideas or practices that purportedly lead to achievement" (p. 61). Often times this type of caring is met with low expectations for students.

A Chaotic Classroom

Although Dr. Jimenez demonstrates authentic and hard forms of caring, he did not sacrifice a fun, free flowing class.

At JR, as I said, is a different culture. It's not Hispanic, although we have Hispanic students but that's not the majority population. It's the culture of African Americans. To be in a class for which at Owen State would have been seen as a misbehaved classroom, here is not a misbehaved classroom. It is a class engaged. You know at Owen State they would say this is a misbehaved class. This is going out of order. But that's the way they show they're engaging in the class. That's the way that they interact. That's the way you really get them to apply and discuss the material using their own slang words. You know going one at another that's the way it works here. In other places, it wouldn't have worked because people would say, oh this is chaotic. Here it is not chaotic this is the way it works.

> So that really makes you learn during the process and everyday. I learn a new thing and that is something that really excites me that I did not have in other places; the fact that every time I immerse myself more and more in the African

> American culture. Not because I hang with African Americans outside in my own neighborhood, because most of my own neighborhood is either White or Hispanic, but because my student population is mostly African America. I'm understanding and learning the culture through my students; something that doesn't really happen to me before in any place. Many times my students were learning from my content. But while the students are learning from what I teach, at the same time I learn from them. So, I understand what works for them and many times, you know it takes away some old stereotypes…

In addition to being an administrator and PETE professor, Dr. Jimenez is also responsible for teaching one of two mandatory health and wellness classes for all students at JRU. Within this class, there is a mix of students from various majors throughout the campus. However, many of the students attending his class were freshmen that were undecided about their majors.

Dr. Jimenez begins class with a conversation about the impending election between Mitt Romney and Barack Obama. A conversation ensues about people across America being divided. The class is full of students, the majority of faces are Black with sprinkles of Brown and White scattered through the room. Unlike his other courses I have observed, there were no empty seats in the classroom. In typical fashion, none of the students abided by the university's dress code. Beyond clothing, students were seen wearing hats, nose rings, earrings, and tattoos. In this way, students were not conforming to the culture of respectability that the university attempts to promote. Wallace, being

the older more politically astute student in class is the first to address Dr. Jimenez. He quickly mentions how he feels safe at an HBCU knowing that a large percentage of the population voted for Obama. “Some crazy White dude might start shooting from the Tower at CCU.”

In his rebuttal, Dr. Jimenez says, “hopefully we can get past divisiveness and work toward the common good.”

At the beginning of many of his classes Dr. Jimenez, uses a quote, current news, factoid, or YouTube video to engage students.

After beginning with a brief discussion on the political climate of the country, Dr. Jimenez introduces the day’s topic—cancer. Using statistics, he shows how African Americans, White Americans, and Hispanic Americans, were more or less susceptible to certain forms of cancer. Dr. Jimenez asks the question, “How many of you have known someone in your family that has had cancer?”

Students began to speak out, “my grandmother had it, my mother, my father…”

Without raising her hand, a student sitting near the right hand wall of the room mentions, “Bob Marley had it.”

Moving on, he explained, how DNA is related to the production of cells and cancer cells in the body. Dr. Jimenez references Maury Povich saying, “You are not the Father.” The students burst into laughter. Even when talking about a serious subject like cancer, Dr. Jimenez’s classes were filled with humor and free flowing conversation.

As he begins to mention the high rate of cancer among African Americans one student interrupts and says, “the government is responsible.” This is not only his opinion as other students in the class nod a gesture in agreement. This is consistent with many African Americans however; Dr. Jimenez takes a different approach by explaining how diet and exercise correlate with cancer rates. However, he did not ignore the claims that the government has a role in the rate of cancer among African Americans.

As the conversation shifts from being directed by Dr. Jimenez, to a free flowing conversation among the individuals in the class various topics related to cancer emerge. For example, the conversations highlight structural concerns regarding access to health care and outdoor facilities that promote physical activity. One student asks, “What about signs for prostate cancer?”

Dr. Jimenez then begins to explain the various signs of prostate cancer one of which is an enlarged prostate. As he explained the process of completing a prostate exam students burst into laughter. “How does the prostate exam feel?,” one student asks.

Dr. Jimenez responds with wit saying, “It depends on the finger of the doctor,” while he holds two fingers in the air with a twisting motion. Once again, the room is filled with laughter. In his explanation of the prostate, Dr. Jimenez explained that the prostate is responsible for producing semen.

Without warning, a student interrupts saying, “I heard that when you get a prostate exam it makes you nut.”

Before Dr. Jimenez can respond, another student asks “Can pre-nut get a woman pregnant?”

Dr. Jimenez responds with an affirmative statement. “Yes, that’s why it is important to use protection when you were having sex.”

Just as soon as the conversation has appeared to shift from cancer to sex education another student inquires, “Didn’t Bob Marley smoke weed? Is that what gave him cancer?”

Then another student, a young woman in the class, shares that most of her friends smoke weed and that when her brother smokes he goes crazy.

Dr. Jimenez responds by sharing, “that I do not smoke and I know people who do smoke and they were perfectly fine, but then I also have know people who have smoked and now have mental health issues, living on the streets.”

Dr. Jimenez then redirects the class by dividing them into small groups and handing out a sheet of paper with a picture on each. He instructs them to determine based upon what they see in the picture what health risks can lead to cancer. One group has a picture of an old lady walking into McDonald’s with a cigarette in her hand. Students then engage in a discussion about relationships among nutrition, smoking, and susceptibility to cancer.

Dr. Jimenez’s approach to teaching his students is consistent with their ability to relate to content. Although he feels some would describe it as a chaotic classroom, with students not raising hands, yelling out of turn, at times using profanity and slang, the

classroom culture did have a sophisticated structure. Open debates lead into teachable moments that are related to new course content, which then segued into planned group activities.

Chapter Summary

Social justice manifests itself within JRU as a broad cultural ethos of care, as well as the culturally/politically relevant and sustaining practices within PETE classrooms and other educational classrooms. In fact, JRU itself is a cultural artifact representing the cultural sustainment of the African American community in the midst of gentrification. Students were educated within a historical and contemporary context that sheds light on the politics and social structures that influence the culture of JRU both internally and externally. This is effectively accomplished through Dr. Jimenez and Dr. Calvin's intentional efforts to relate to students.

Perhaps the most important aspects of social justice described in this chapter were the high expectations set by both Dr. Jimenez and Dr. Calvin. This is in stark contrast to the feelings of low expectations for students described in chapter four. Both were intentional in their efforts to prepare students for graduate school whether through overt one-on-one conversations or an unrecognized implementation of rigor within the classroom. In other words, although students acknowledge that there were professors who maintain a standard of excellence and others who do not, they were not fully aware of the rigor of many classes because it is clothed in the style of teaching commensurate with student learning (i.e., culturally relevant pedagogy, politically relevant pedagogy,

culturally sustaining pedagogy). Both care and multiple forms of CRP cannot be relegated to the classroom; it is a phenomenon that is rooted in the culture of the institution. Often referred to as, the "Historic Jackie Robinson University," at the institutional level is a commitment to the cultural sustainment of JRU as a fixture within the Black community of Capital City.

Despite having to "stand in The Gap," Dr. Jimenez and Dr. Calvin were examples of how faculty and JRU as a university maintain high standards for students and maintain a culture social justice. All of these aspects of the JRU culture function as means of providing an educational environment connected to broader social issues within the local community. Ultimately, the caring and various manifestations of CRP that exist within JRU cannot be separated from the care that is exhibited by the two teacher educators described in this chapter.

In addition to providing a culture that supports culturally relevant and sustaining practices, the teaching in the classrooms of Dr. Jimenez and Dr. Calvin, along with their formal and informal interactions with students, was part of a caring tradition found at JRU. The culture of care that occurs within JRU is much like the Black Humanist utilized by a Black preservice teacher approach highlighted by Michelle Knight (2004). A fundamental difference here, like CRP and culturally sustaining pedagogy, the humanist approach to teaching was not emphasized as what preservice teachers were taught, but how they were taught. Nevertheless, due to the diversity of students within JRU, the approach to caring differs based upon who is being cared for. For instance, this

chapter highlighted how Dr. Calvin, a Black professor, and Dr. Jimenez, a Latino professor, communicate individually with Black and Latina/o students respectively. In either situation both Dr. Jimenez and Dr. Calvin exhibit attributes of care that align with the notions of critical and hard caring (Antrop-González & De Jesús, 2006). This is in stark contrast to the description of professors that were soft carers operating from an orientation of low expectations.

Mentioned earlier, culturally relevant and sustaining pedagogies have been defined within the context of teaching for social justice, but also cultural justice (Paris, 2012; Spalding et al., 2010). The difference here is that typically culturally relevant pedagogy and the culturally sustaining pedagogy were framed as content that will—hopefully—become a practice for future in-service teachers. In other words, CRP is usually framed as something that teacher education students need to learn and not highlighted as a way that they were taught (Ladson-Billings, 1995b, 2014; Paris, 2012). Within this study, the emphasis was on how teacher educators utilize culturally (politically) relevant and sustaining pedagogies to teach their preservice teachers, not in how their preservice teachers were taught to use culturally relevant or sustaining pedagogies.

Chapter Six: Discussion

Summary of Findings

The overarching objective of this research was to shed light on how social justice and teacher education for social justice are manifested within an HBCU PETE program. Using the literature surrounding social justice, teacher education for social justice, and situated learning theories as foundations, I uncovered (not discovered) how social justice and teacher education for social justice exist within an often-unrecognized setting. Ethnography provided me with holistic, historical, and contemporary perspectives situated within the broader context of HBCUs nationally and locally, thus allowing for an in-depth understanding of how social justice is manifested throughout the culture of JRU and within specific classroom settings.

The Gap. A key finding or theme found within this study was The Gap, which manifested in a variety of ways. A commonality within gaps presented by study is that each are coupled with a tension indicative of the muddiness of enacting social justice. For example, JRU's genesis, like those of many other HBCUs, was in a post-reconstruction era wherein America was unsure of what to do with its newly freed Black population (J. D. Anderson, 1988; DuBois, 1994; Watkins, 2001). In the midst of competing interests and theories of survival, HBCUs like JRU filled The Gap by providing opportunities for education. A negative implication of this gap is the lowered expectations for students within JRU. This is the cause of a fundamental tension among students, administration, and faculty. In its most prominent form, The Gap exists as a

divide between those students who are high achieving and those who are not. This divide exists both academically and socially. High achieving students avoid those who are low achievers. This gap is the result of JRU's open admissions policy, which simultaneously reflects its history of providing educational opportunities when others were not available, but also reflects a survival mechanism, in the sense that open enrollment allows the institution to maintain itself. Thus, the Gap also reflects a survival narrative surrounding JRU and other HBCUs.

The Gap also exists as a tension between students and administration, as the high achieving students question the administration and some professors for lowering expectations. Ironically, a point of solidarity among students is their opposition to the university's attempt to raise expectations by imposing a dress code. The imposition of a dress code is a means through which the university seeks to increase expectations of students. As a policy, the dress code is "dog with more bark than bite"; for the most part students do not receive any consequences for their lack of adherence. Similarly, there also exists tension among the university's need to sustain itself with an adequate number of students, the diversification the student body, and the school's relaxed admissions standards. The attendance gap is not only filled by Black students; JRU has sought to fill a need for sustainability by attracting a diverse minority of non-Black and international students. Another tension the university faces is maintaining its identity as an HBCU while attracting more Latina/o students. The administration has strategically sought to attract more Latina/o, White, and foreign students. Nevertheless, the greatest internal

conflict throughout the institution is the struggle to maintain high expectations in light of providing opportunities for higher education.

Since its inception JRU has been a place that operated to give opportunities for those who would otherwise not have them, particularly African Americans. This is consistent with the narrative surrounding HBCUs throughout the country. However, it is often overlooked that these institutions, including JRU, have a history of educating individuals who are not African American (Jewell, 2002; Roach, 2004, 2005; Washington, 1995). During the pre-integration era, JRU served as place for students who did not have access to education at White institutions. Since the advent of integration JRU, like many other HBCUs, is still a place where African Americans who would not be able to or chose not attend PWIs are able to attain higher education. Unfortunately, in many cases JRU is unable to attract the most college-ready students, Black or otherwise. Thus, JRU is also representation of the splintering of the Black community (Robinson, 2010); many of the Black students in attendance represent an abandoned class of Black Americans. This notion of abandonment is not only applicable to Black students attending JRU—many of the Latina/o students attending JRU represent a population of people that have not benefitted from the spoils of integration.

Culturally relevant pedagogy and care. Care is also a major component of the university culture. An ethnography of Care cannot be fully captured by artifacts— rather interactions, among faculty, staff, and students—best illustrates this theme. Although there are complaints about a tyrannical dress code and lowered expectations, informants

consistently agreed that JRU was a place promoting a culture of care. Students are known as people and not merely faces in classrooms of hundreds. Faculty, in light of limited resources, lean on one another for support. For example, sharing of resources with each other. The care felt by students and faculty is a stark contrast to the perception of what CCU or non-HBCUs can offer. JRU's supportive and nurturing environment is consistent with the literature describing HBCUs (Flowers, 2002; Jean-Marie, 2006; I. L. Williams, Glenn, & Wider, 2008). The ethos of care provided by the institution is not unlike the culturally relevant othermothering and otherfathering described in studies and literature about education within the Black community (Case, 1997; Hirt et al., 2008).

The caring environment described by the participants in this study is consistent with the reputation and research suggesting that HBCUs provide care and support for students (Jean-Marie, 2006; Palmer, Davis, & Maramba, 2010). HBCUs are institutions dedicated to the matriculation of students through higher education. Both Dr. Jimenez and Dr. Calvin are professors that maintain high expectations for students through accountability and the expectation that students will persist to graduate school. Students recognize that both professors are examples of good teachers with high expectations, but are in some ways unaware of the level of preparation that they are experiencing. Care is also a major component of the classrooms observed in this study. Many students articulated experiencing what has been theorized as soft caring. Soft caring is "characterized by a teacher's feeling sorry for a student's circumstances and lowering

his/her academic expectations of the student out of pity" (Antrop—González & De Jesús, 2006, p. 411).

Despite the lowered expectations among many professor, Dr. Jimenez and Dr. Calvin maintain high expectations for all of their students. It is in this way that these professors stand in The Gap through their pedagogy. Within the classroom, social justice is most evident in the teaching practices of Dr. Jimenez and Dr. Calvin: their approaches to teaching are culturally sustaining, politically/culturally relevant, and filled with care. Additionally, it is evident that both of these professors care in hard and authentic ways (Arriola, 1996; Valenzuela, 1999). Care, however, goes beyond having high expectation for students, its includes an overt recognition of where care, teaching, learning, and social justice take place (i.e. The Gap).

This runs contrary to the soft caring described by many student informants. Within this study, observed and overheard lessons demonstrated hard and authentic caring, types of care that are marked by high academic expectations while going beyond academics. Examples of going beyond academic expectations include the care experienced by Philly during one-on-one interactions with Dr. Jimenez or the courtesy extended to Shania during her initial visit to JRU. The culture of care within JRU is tantamount to the level of care experienced in families. The relationship between JRU and its students has been compared to that of parent and child, which parallels the systems of othermothering described in similar studies (Case, 1997; Hirt et al., 2008). The ethos of care within JRU is accompanied by a culture of sustainment and survival.

Cultural Sustainment and Survival

From a perspective of cultural sustainment, the teachings of Dr. Calvin and Dr. Jimenez center on the cultural and historical experience of students as part of specific ethnic or racial groups. For example, Dr. Calvin is adamant that students should be aware that they are a part of HBCU history. This awareness gained by his inclusion of the history of Black education within his lessons. Dr. Jimenez promotes cultural maintenance by intentionally communicating with Latina/o students in Spanish in settings outside of the classroom. Cultural sustainment is also represented in his efforts to make classroom content relatable to his students who are mostly African American and Latino while simultaneously acknowledging professional expectations for life outside of JRU. Both professors acknowledge the culture of their students, but also engage in pedagogy that is politically relevant to their circumstances of their students. All of which is accomplished without sacrificing high academic, social, and moral expectations.

Both professors' teachings are reflective of politically relevant and culturally sustaining pedagogies that seek to avoid miseducating students into the mainstream, but rather to sustain their cultural identities in the midst of an ever-diversifying mainstream. This is a reality for the entire institution, as it exists in a diminishing Black community at the height of gentrification. Perhaps the most socially just aspect of this teaching is that all students—whether they be high achieving or not—engage in rigorous culturally

and politically relevant material as it is presented in class. The teaching styles presented in this study cannot be divorced from JRU's role as an artifact of cultural sustainment.

Regarding cultural sustainment, rules imposed by the institution seek to prepare students for life in mainstream professional settings, but can also be critiqued because they were imposed without student input. However, JRU did not take the stance that students should lose or sacrifice their cultural identities as a result of life in the mainstream. There is also in effort to make students competent professionals in the communities they came from.

As an educational institution, JRU is deeply entrenched in the HBCU survival narrative (Demby, 2013; Fort, 2013; Nelms, 2010; Rivard, 2014). Survival goes beyond the school's attempts to attract an educable student body to support the physical existence of the institution. JRU has symbolic and cultural meaning as a Black institution within a neighborhood that is becoming less and less Black. Internally, JRU is a community that is becoming more ethnically diverse, but seeks to remain historically Black. The institution itself, an artifact representative of the struggle for cultural sustainment, is a vestige of Black History within Capital City. For instance, buildings are named after prominent alumni who have given back to the institution or who have made significant contributions to the social justice history of Capital City.

Interpretation of Findings

The findings of this study offer meaningful implications for research pertaining to HBCUs and the preparation of physical educators. In this section, I discuss the

theoretical implications of this study followed by an interpretation of the practical implications for physical education teacher education, teacher education for social justice, and HBCUs.

Theoretical implications for social justice: No peace with social justice. In 2000, Gloria Ladson-Billings contextualized racialized discourses and ethnic epistemologies—in doing so she highlighted the meaning of liminality, also known as the view from the margin. She wrote, "Those occupying the liminal position do not seek to move from the margins to the mainstream because they understand the corrupting influences of the mainstream—its pull to maintain status quo relations of power and inequities" (Ladson-Billings, 2000b, p. 262). This view from the margin is similar to DuBois' double consciousness (DuBois, 1994). Although Ladson-Billings conceptualizes the margin in terms of epistemology, JRU is an institution ontologically set in the margin. The margin, in this instance, does not consist of individuals or groups of people with unique perspectives, but rather one organization existing in an ontological purgatory wrought with tensions and contradictions about what social justice really is.

The cliché of "No Justice, No Peace" is often used when an injustice has been perpetrated without recourse for the perpetrator. Ironically, the findings of this study suggest that with social justice there is also no peace. Here I do not mean to suggest that with social justice there are violent wars, overt protests, or civil unrest, rather I am suggesting that "no peace"—at least in the context of JRU—means that social justice is not devoid of conflict or tension. Throughout this study, conflict has accompanied

themes representing social justice. Beyond the existence of conflict is the recognition of conflict within the presence of a context meant to be socially just. Two examples are the testaments of Dr. Jimenez and Dr. Calvin regarding academic expectations of students in light of the admissions policy, and the role of JRU in providing higher education for a diverse population versus its need for cultural sustainment as a Black institution.

Make room for theories and theorists. After spending four years as an undergraduate student at an HBCU, over five years of graduate school at wealthy PWIs, and significant time as a researcher at JRU, my thoughts on the theoretical meaning(s) of social justice challenges those commonly noted in the literature. In the past, social justice—teaching for social justice or teacher education for social justice—has been theorized as all encompassing and for all. Superficially, this may be true, but I would argue that while all preservice (physical education) teachers need (physical education) teacher education for social justice–(physical education) teacher education for social justice theories and practices are not one size fits all. Nevertheless, within teacher education, especially PETE, the application of such theories has not been all encompassing. More often than not, PETE and HBCUs are left out of mainstream conversations pertaining to teaching and teacher education for social justice. For this reason, I argue that continued efforts should be made regarding the creation of social justice theories—teaching for social justice, and (physical education) teacher education for social justice. Defining, conceptualizing, and theorizing social justice is not merely about the semantics of literature, but who is writing about social justice?

Taken from the mainstream perspective, much has been made about the lack of diversity within teacher education. Hence a major component of the social justice agenda within teacher education is the recruitment and retention ethnic of minority teacher education candidates (Zeichner, 2009). Clearly, as Zeichner (2009) put it, the social justice agenda is not beyond critique. For example, many teacher educators have K-12 experience, but not with diversity. This lack of real life experience has led to reliance on readings. He also mentioned the overemphasis on the training of White teachers. Additionally, faculty in teacher education who have published scholarship about social justice have left their positions in classrooms for more comfortable positions within the academy.

The implications here undergird two suggestions regarding further development of theories pertaining to social justice, teaching, and (physical education) teacher education for social justice. First, the recognition that social justice is as much about the researcher's ontology as much as it is about his or her epistemology. Although the informants in this study were both ontologically and epistemologically situated within the margin, my perspective and way of being were informed by my role as a researcher/graduate student coming from a wealthy PWI with a history antithetical to that of JRU. My recognition of this was essential to maintaining a socially just ethic when conducting research in the margin (JRU); thus necessitating my adamant adherence to the privileging of the insider's perspectives rather than my own. Scholars

employing theoretical frameworks of social justice must not limit their concepts of the margin to epistemology; they must also acknowledge where they stand ontologically.

Second, while theories of social justice, teaching for social justice, and teacher education for social justice present definitions that attempt to capture expansive definitions (Cochran-Smith, 2009; Spalding et al., 2010), this did not negate the need for specific theoretical manifestations of such concepts. Much like the arguments of scholars justifying the need for multiple forms of caring based upon interpretations seen through, racially, culturally, and gender based lenses, I argue that we must recognize forms of social justices theories, particularly (physical education) teacher education for social justice, that account for such differences.

Given the two implications presented above, I argue that, moving forward, scholars must conceptualize theories of social justice not only through their epistemic lenses, but do so while making considerations for their ontology and situatedness. There need to be culturally diverse ways of theorizing and applying teacher education for social justice, similar to the ways in which theories of care have been developed (Antrop‑González & De Jesús, 2006; Gonzalez & Ayala-Alcantar, 2008; Soto, 2005; Valenzuela, 1999). In short, the application of social justice is incomplete without regard for how one views the world; one is in the world, and one's place in the world.

Practical applications. Overall, the data's major contribution to social justice theories is that social justice is neither easy nor consistent. Sustaining social justice and teacher education for social justice is like swimming in muddy waters; progress is made

but not without getting messy. Theorizing, scholarizing, and researching social justice or teacher education for social justice are much easier than performing social justice. In other words, the scholarship of social justice is easier than its praxis. This is not to devalue the many scholarly works dedicated to social justice, but rather to acknowledge those who teach and teacher educate for social justice without scholarly recognition. With this in mind, there are several practical applications of the findings of the study concerning PETE and HBCUs.

PETE. Throughout this study, there were several best practices performed by Dr. Jimenez and Dr. Calvin that can be applied to PETE programs within minority serving instructions or those that serve a preservice teachers of color. Despite the fact that JRU is a school with limited resources, Dr. Jimenez as a physical education teacher educator and Dr. Calvin as a teacher educator furthered students' professional and academic development by taking them to academic conferences. This enhanced students' view of themselves as future graduate students and scholars.

Given the lack of diversity in the physical education teacher education pipeline (Hodge & Wiggins, 2010), Dr. Jimenez's approach of engaging with students who are of a different ethnicities offered insight into cross cultural interactions between preservice teachers and teacher educators. Dr. Jimenez was intentional about learning from his students thereby enabling him to appropriately integrate concepts and materials into lessons that were not viewed as stereotypical but culturally congruent. Unlike his own experience, Dr. Jimenez utilized information pertaining to Black and Latina/o students in

his lessons as means of empowerment rather than as a reminder of what they could not achieve.

The best practices displayed by Dr. Jimenez and Dr. Calvin cannot be separated from their own educational experiences. Before becoming teacher educators both were exposed to diversity in their undergraduate, graduate, and professional lives. Each has had cross-cultural experiences with people with different racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds. This exposure to diversity was accompanied with intentional understanding of difference. By this, I mean that Dr. Jimenez and Dr. Calvin do not have a superficial understanding of diversity but rather an empathetic perspective of diversity that considers their experiences and perspectives of different people. As such, PETE programs should not shy away from providing environments that expose students to curricula, faculty, peers, and school environments that reflect the increasing diversity of society.

HBCUs. Similar to that of PETE, the findings of this study can be applied to best practices within HBCUs. Considering that HBCUs across the nation are at a crossroads, with many institutions facing the threat of closure or reinvention, the need for cultural sustainment among these institutions is paramount. However, this should not come at the cost of educating populations of people who have been historically marginalized or oppressed. Black colleges can be diverse institutions standing in the gap for all who need opportunities for education. Dr. Jimenez's and Dr. Calvin's roles provided examples that

illustrate how, regardless of what students may lack, educators can and should still have high expectations for all students.

Limitations

As with most qualitative studies, this study's findings of cannot be generalized to HBCUs nationally or internationally. Even among small private HBCUs, it would be difficult to extend findings beyond JRU because the institution has a unique history and setting, even among private HBCUs. Thus, it should be noted that the manifestations of social justice and (physical education) teacher education for social justice within JRU are bound by space, place, and time. Given changing demographics of Capital City, 20 years from now the tensions that exist within JRU may not exist as they do today. Further, although JRU is a part of the HBCU community the tensions found within JRU may or may not exist within similar institutions.

Within JRU, there are 51 faculty members and, for the purposes of this study only, two were informants. Of those two, only one, Dr. Calvin, represented a faculty member outside of the PETE program. Likewise, there are nearly 900 students attending JRU, 131 of which are students in the Kinesiology Department; only four were informants for this study. Since the centerpiece of this study was the PETE program and JRU classrooms, the insiders' perspectives of JRU provided by this study privilege those within the PETE program and not the entire JRU community.

Future Directions

Throughout the introduction and literature review of this dissertation, I have argued that the production of knowledge pertaining to social justice and education has been the domain of well-endowed PWIs. Numerous scholars have acknowledged the tensions of producing work from the margin within the mainstream (Dixson & Dingus, 2007; Juarez et al., 2008). Although I have tried my best to capture the perspectives of those within the margin, in this case at JRU, efforts must be made to support the production or presentation of knowledge from teacher educators and scholars working in programs with histories of educating marginalized people.

More research and theories pertaining to (physical education) teacher educating should be produced by scholars from HBCUs, Hispanic Serving Institutions, and Tribal Institutions. At the very least, this work should be produced in tandem with those who work within these institutions. This is paramount considering the monopoly of social justice scholarship produced from within PWIs.

Conclusions

What is social justice? Within JRU, the cost of social justice is high. In an era where graduation rates, endowment sizes, and research expenditures are the most important markers of excellence in higher education, JRU commits to educating the least academically and most economically disadvantaged students. Nevertheless, does the institution do this as a function of self-preservation or is it a genuine commitment to the uplift of those students who can benefit from higher education? In the same vein, the

university seeks to remain viable by diversifying the student body. Is doing so an attempt to gentrify or change the identity of the institution or a function of cultural sustainment whereby JRU acknowledges diversity but seeks to maintain its identity as an HBCU?

Although JRU does provide opportunities for higher education, JRU does not have the resources of many other HBCUs, let alone predominantly White institutions. Thus, a major tension within the university is whether the opportunity given to students is truly representative of social justice. Alternatively, is the admittance of students who are unprepared for college a disservice? Arguments can be made as to whether the admissions policies of JRU are truly socially just. On one hand, those within the institution often wonder whether the admittance of students who not are college ready is truly to the benefit of all students. These students often take longer to graduate and incur more debt through student loans. On the other hand, without JRU where else would these students go?

This tension also manifests itself in the form of opportunity vs. expectation. Does JRU truly provide opportunities for students if the expectations for students are low? Behind the frustration of lowered expectations is a belief that JRU provides something for students that cannot be captured at dissimilar institutions. Ironically, while the perspectives of high achieving students presented in this study present some harsh criticism, there is a consistent view of JRU as a caring nurturing, familial place. A counter narrative to the gap is the culturally relevant ethos of care provided by the

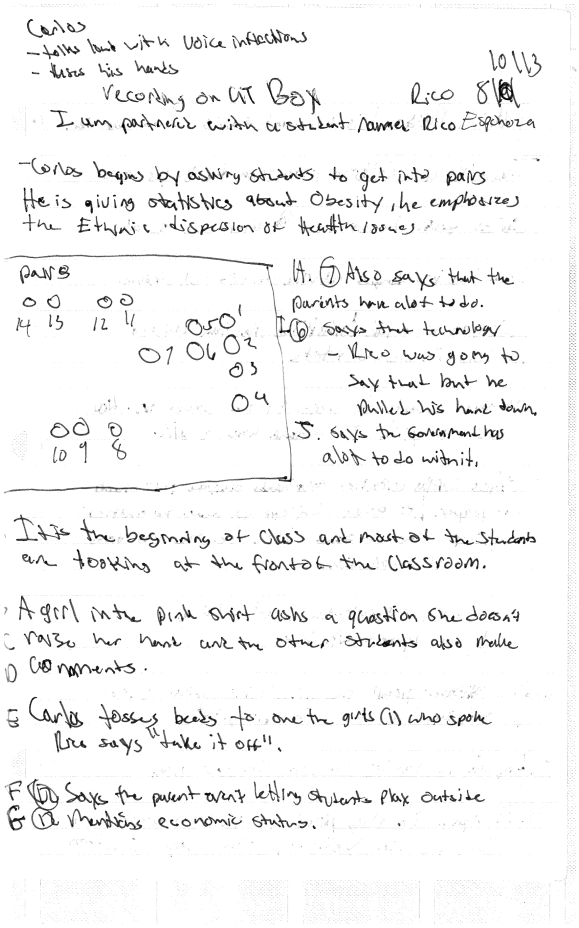
institution. Even Dr. Jimenez—who takes issues with lowered expectations existent within JRU—acknowledges the quality of care permeating the institution.

Ironically, students do not completely recognize the rigor within the classrooms at JRU. Student accounts can attest to the authentic and hard caring experienced in the classrooms of both Dr. Jimenez and Dr. Calvin, but this is limited to the expectation that students are required to conduct themselves ethically, submit assignments in a timely and quality fashion, and consistently attend classes. Students also recognize—through trips to conferences and one-on-one interaction—that there is an expectation for some of them to matriculate through graduate school. However, the unrecognized rigor exists in the nature of classroom discussions and assignments that are designed to prepare students for graduate level work. For example, the intentional usage of words and concepts such as epistemology and social justice are an attempt by Dr. Calvin to clandestinely prepare students for the next level of higher education. Likewise, students are unaware that activities in Dr. Jimenez courses such as sorting through CDC data and theories of teaching learning are graduate level work. This occurs because both professors are intentional in their efforts to teach in a way that students are able to relate to content. Thus, the social justice experienced by students in the classroom is, at least in part, invisible.

Within JRU teaching and teacher education for social justice find their meaning inside The Gap. Concepts such as othermothering, otherfathering, care, culturally relevant/ sustaining pedagogy, etc., are not exclusive to HBCUs like JRU. However, at

community, university, and classroom levels are unique to context such as JRU. The Gap informs every bit of the existence of JRU. It informs admissions policies, the dress code, and informs the pedagogy of both Dr. Jimenez and Dr. Calvin such that teaching and teacher education for social justice are a form of standing in The Gap.

Appendix A: Sample Fieldnotes



Carlos
- talks loud with voice inflections
- throws his hands

10/13

Recording on UT Box Rico 8

I am partnered with a student named Rico Esperza

-Carlos begins by asking students to get into pairs
He is giving statistics about Obesity, he emphasizes the Ethnic dispersion of health issues

pairs

14 13 12 11 01 02 03 04 10 9 8

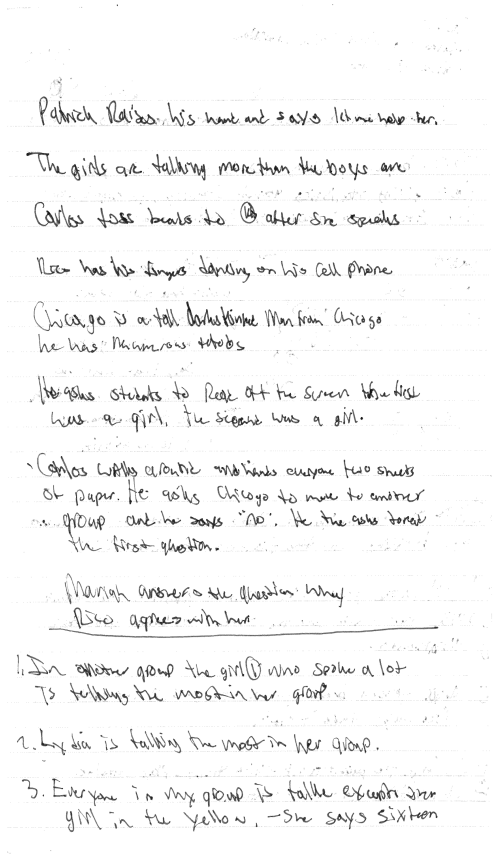
14. (7) Also says that the parents have a lot to do.
(10) says that technology
- Rico was going to say that but he pulled his hand down.
5. says the government has a lot to do with it.

It is the beginning of class and most of the students are looking at the front of the classroom.

A girl in the pink shirt asks a question she doesn't raise her hand and the other students also make comments.

Carlos tosses beads to one the girls (1) who spoke Rico says "take it off".

(10) Says the parent aren't letting students play outside
(12) Mentions economic status.



Patrick Raises his hand and says Ich me habe her.

The girls are talking more than the boys are

Carlos takes breaks to ⓑ after she speaks

Rico has his fingers dancing on his cell phone

Chicago is a tall basketball Man from Chicago
he has numerous tebobs

He asks students to Read off the screen if the first
was a girl, the second was a girl.

Carlos walks around and hands everyone two sheets
of paper. He asks Chicago to move to another
group and he says "No". He then asks for
the first question.

Mariah answers the question why
Rico agrees with her

1. In another group the girl (1) who spoke a lot
is talking the most in her group.

2. Lydia is talking the most in her group.

3. Everyone in my group is talking except the
girl in the yellow. —She says sixteen

Chicago asks alot of questions and the girls answer making off the.

Chicago was saying that he just got done playing ball and he's tired.

Students ~~started~~ to interact, the says can't even listen to the TJSLC.

Beth Rice ?, Chicago look at their phones.

Chicago asks alot of questions and the girls answer making off the.

Chicago was saying that he just got done playing ball and he's tired.

Students ~~started~~ to interact, the says can't even listen to the TJSCE.

Beth Rice & Chicago look at their phones.

Health & Wellness

Carlos and I have a conversation about one of our previous professors Dr. Wurt. He tells me the story about Dr. Wurt asking him and Frankie to drop out of the classes.

— This is my favorite class.

He talks about the election, people being divisive

Will said he feels safer at a HBCU because he knows that 98% of the kids voted for Obama. Some crazy white dude shooting up the town.

Will talks about the money, Carlos talks about how hopefully we get over that and work toward the common good.

Will asks if he graded the interview.

Carlos talks about many the students being young, late teens, 20 something, 30 something people laugh the one ~~student~~ mentions he is older.

This is the conversation about Cancer

One girl sitting near the wall says how much hate it.

Many positive sentence

Carlos talks about DNA — you cannot see the future.

The majority of students do not ~~have~~ live
hip tops

Thats my group that why I love you people

In one girl could not read the word
Suppressor.

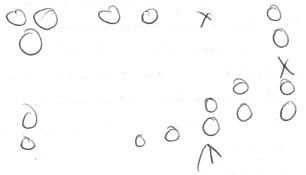
Carlos tells Daniel to put his telephone
away.

Talks about Children being born with learning

Today you take the escalator Pictures
Not at HT, we got kids with boots
that walk up the stairs
Hush Puppies Cancer arround AA and person said the
you'it,
One thing about soul food
~~They~~ Asked about how the prostate exam feels
Student ask about signs ~~about~~ for prostate
we talk about prostate exams, We talk
about getting a prostate cancer,
I think it depends on the finger of the
Dr.
We have a conversation about smoking weeds
- girl tells about friend smoking weed,
- girl talked about her brother smoking weeds
it not be good crazy
Carlos then tells a story about

11/8/12

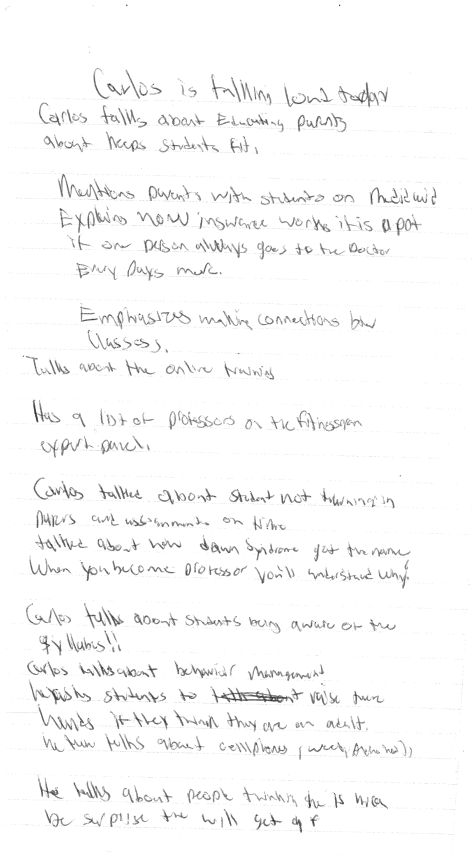
I come in late today



Girl from Kansas sleep

Carlos says we do somewhat of the typical stuff, but there are some who may not like it. Everyone has their own interest.

Teachers should not share student PA level with the entire class. Do not grade students on PA levels.
Why is that unprofessional or unethical
One student says there are many factors involved with fitness
Carlos says if your going to grade students on fitness they should do some to teachers to keep their jobs.
"fucking fire you"


Carlos is talking loud today
Carlos talks about Educating parents
about how students fit,

Mentions parents with students on medicaid
Explains how insurance works it is a pot
if one person always goes to the doctor
they pays more.

Emphasizes making connections bw
classes).
Talks about the online training

Has a list of professors on the fitness gram
expert panel.

Carlos talks about student not turning in
papers and assignments on time
talks about how down syndrome got the name
When you become professor you'll understand why.

Carlos talks about students being aware of the
gym hours!!
Carlos talks about behavior management
suggests students to ~~talk about~~ raise their
hands if they think they are an adult.
He then talks about certifications (weekly Aerobics))

He talks about people thinking he is huge
he surprise he will get off

Think about introducing the pod and the panel
The old man with gray hair two seats in front
of us [redacted] Chairs Stow and Hawk.

Chair Stowe asks and challenges the panel Validity of their
Principles.

* The man in charge of the NCAAP Athlete about Respect
The little girl who is the niece of the man
who was shot ask what will happen if
the police Officer doesn't get indicted.

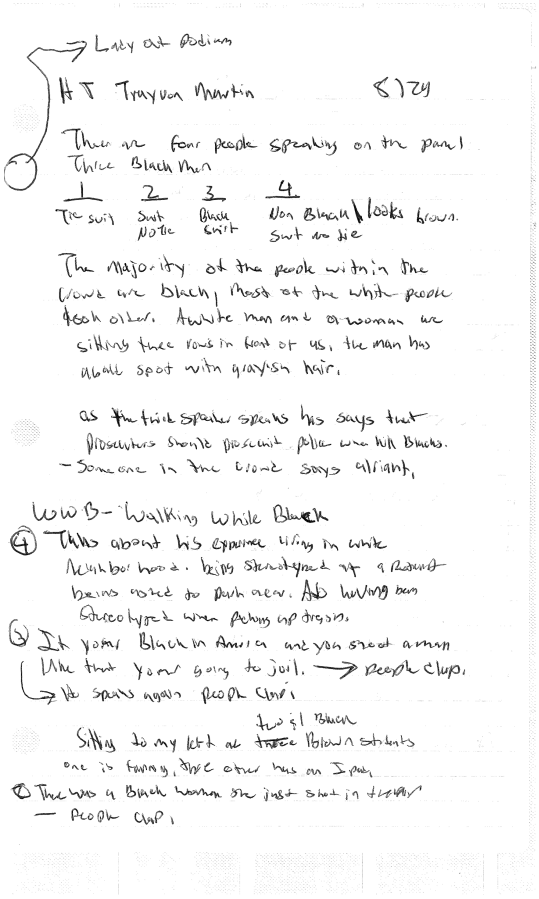
They talked about private prisons, & private policing

The one student, got up for because Black Lives Matter
& saggy pants.

The meeting for Heaman Graduate Assistance
at HT, I'm older to upgrade it.

Lucian Villasenor
210 422 3422

LucianV.__601@yahoo.com



Lady at podium

HT Trayvon Martin 8/26

There are four people speaking on the panel
Three Black Men

1	2	3	4
Tie suit	Suit No tie	Black shirt	Non Black looks brown. Suit no tie

The majority of the people within the crowd are Black, most of the white people look older. A white man and a woman are sitting three rows in front of us, the man has a bald spot with grayish hair.

as the first speaker speaks he says that Prosecutors should prosecute police who kill Blacks.
- Someone in the crowd says alright,

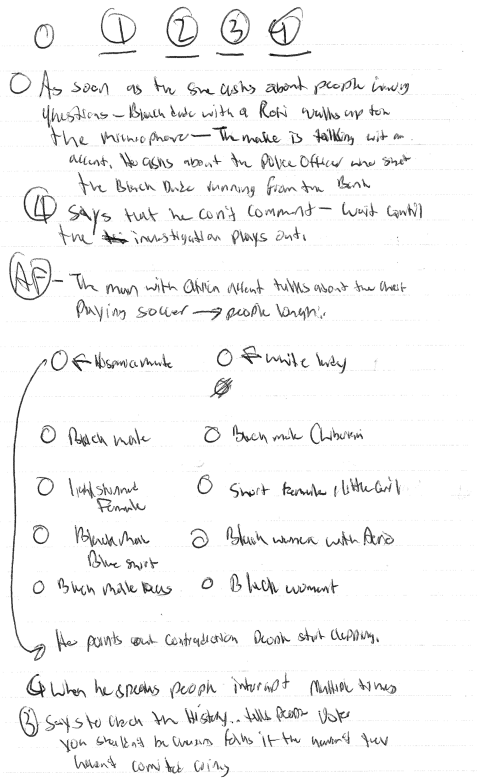
WWB - Walking While Black

4. Talks about his experience living in white neighborhoods. being stereotyped as a criminal because people clutch their purses around him. And having been stereotyped when picking up trash.

3. If you're Black in America and you steal a man like that you're going to jail. → people clap.
He speaks again people clap.

Sitting to my left are two Black students
one is fanning, the other has an Ipad.

2. There was a Black woman she just shot in the air
— people clap.


0 1 2 3 4
As soon as the scene cuts about people having questions - Black dude with a Rotni walks up to the microphone - The reader is talking with an accent. He cuts about the Police Officer who start the Black Dude running from the Bank
4 says that he can't comment - would comment the investigation plays out.
AF - The man with African accent talks about the Chest playing soccer → people laughing.
Hispanic male
White lady
Black male
Black male Clubbing
Light skinned Female
Short female / Little Girl
Black Man Blue shirt
Black woman with Afro
Black male dress
Black woman
Has points about contradiction People start clapping.
When he speaks people interrupt multiple times
3 says to check the History.. tells people Vote You should be curious for it the moment they haven't committed crime

Trayvon Martin

* Houston Gilchrist University Legacy Tuesday 8/17

I began by walking up and meeting with Carlos, Having unable to talk because of a meeting. So I decided to go into the library. Ms. Kay told me that I have to schedule an appointment in order to look at the archives at the school.

- The Library looks brand new on the inside Nice chairs? Tables etc.
- The magazine rack is a mixture of academic, political, Entertainment magazines, the, have many that are affiliated with the Black community

- When I come in I spoke with Lydia, who is a ~~freshman~~ Senior (PE) and Summa (BKSU). 3 Students sit in the one girl SPARS the other one on the wall.
- The room is hot, one student walks in an immediately opens the windows. The breeze from the outside is cooler than the temp inside.
- Carlos begins by passing out a packet of papers 10 Students in the class, they are asked to split into 2 groups of five people.

All gentlemen wearing appears to white wallets in tank.

Each group has a large stack of sticky papers,
- Next strategies called " "
- Trying to use small groups to promote Students Mutual teachers. This is dilettes it.

Trayvon Martin

* Houston Gilfolsen University Library Tuesday 8/17

I began by walking up and meeting with Carlos, Having unable to talk because of a meeting. So I decided to go into the library. Ms. Kay told me that I have to schedule an appointment in order to look at the archives at the school.

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- The magazine rack is a mixture of academic, political, Entertainment magazines, the, have many that are affiliated with the Black community

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- The room is hot, one student walks in an immediately opens the windows. The breeze from the outside is cooler than the temp inside.
- Carlos begins by passing out a packet of papers 10 Students in the class, they are asked to split into 2 groups of five people.

All gentlemen looks appears to White Wolves in hats.

Each group has a large stack of sticky papers,
- New strategies called " "
- Trying to use small groups to promote Students Mutual teachers. This is dilettes it.

Calls the groups of ladies the Spice girls
they laugh → one of the girls is waving
her note pad in a fan like motion

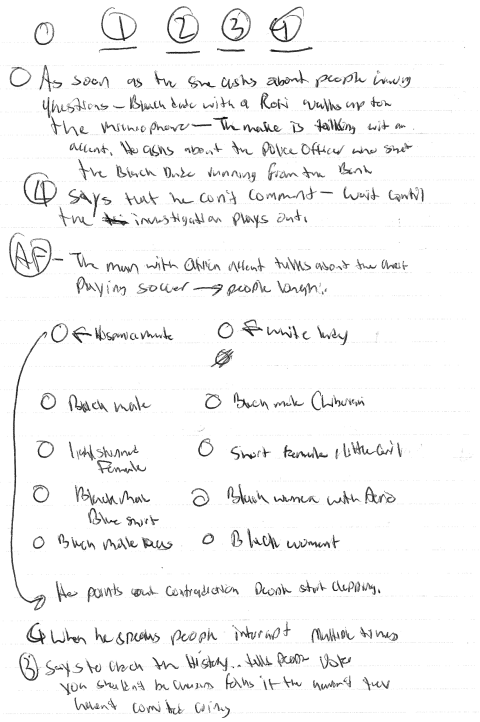
Wants to make sure that students are engaged.

Education & Basketball
Education, Basketball
Graduation,
Students can talk about their goals
What they want to be
I want to see what students want & what they like to learn.

Carlos later talks with his students about what
they wanted to do. This was the reason why he decided
to do it. The girl responds but takes about one of
the girls responses but talks something no one
can relate from you.

The girl with the yellow shirts explains her
relationship group.

Online Book Store
Black colleges on the other shows diversity
of half biracial girls,
Plum has conversation about the image of students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says that he can't comment – wait until the investigation plays out.
AF – The man with African accent talks about the Chest playing soccer → people laughing.
Hispanic male
White lady
Black male
Black male Christian
Light skinned Female
Short female, Little Girl
Black man Blue shirt
Black women with Afro
Black male Boss
Black woman
the points start contradicting People start clapping.
Listen he speaks people interrupt Multiple times
Says to check the history.. tells people listen You should be curious for it the moment you listened completely

Appendix B: Request for Participation

Title: The Manifestation of Social Justice within an HBCU PETE Program

Conducted By: Mr. Langston Clark and Dr. Louis Harrison
Of The University of Texas at Austin: *Curriculum & Instruction/ 428M Sanchez*
Telephone: (512) 232-4785
Email:Clark.1719@gmail.com

You are being asked to participate in a research study. This form provides you with information about the study. The person in charge of this research will also describe this study to you and answer all of your questions. Please read the information below and ask any questions you might have before deciding whether or not to take part. Your participation is entirely voluntary. You can refuse to participate or stop participating at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You can stop your participation at any time and your refusal will not impact current or future relationships with UT Austin or participating sites. To do so simply tell the researcher you wish to stop participation. The researcher will provide you with a copy of this consent for your records.

The purpose of this study is to investigate how Social Justice in teacher education (SJTE) is manifested within Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU).

If you agree to be in this study, we will ask you to do the following things:

- Participate in one video/audio-recorded interview where you will be asked about your personal history in education, teaching philosophy, and/or current role as an educator or administrator.
- Participate in several interviews regarding your experiences as a student with an HBCU
- Permit the researcher to observe and audio/video record several classes that you teach and a provide artifacts (syllabi, teaching philosophy, power points, etc.) regarding your teaching.
- Participate in weekly follow up interviews regarding your teaching based upon video clips and field notes.

Total estimated time to participate in study is 10-12 months with interviews lasting approximately 90-120 minutes each. Focus group interviews are expected to last a total of 4hours.

Risks of being in the study

- The risk of participating in the study is no greater than that of everyday.

Benefits

- There are no direct benefits for participation in this study. Students who participate in interviews and/or focus groups will receive a meal and/or $10.00 gift card.

Compensation:

- Students that participate in interviews with receive a meal worth no more than $15.00. Students participating in focus groups will receive a meal during the focus groups worth no more than $10.00 per person and a $10.00 gift card to HEB.

Confidentiality and Privacy Protections:

- Data from interviews will only be heard by Mr. Clark, Dr. Harrison's or Dr. Harrison's research assistant for research purposes.
- All information, including audio and video recordings, that are collected for this study will labeled using codes, locked in secure place, and kept away from the general public.
- Data from interviews will be transcribed and will be maintained for use in future research.
- Participants may decline participation, skip a question, ask a question, and request recording to stop at any time.

The records of this study will be stored securely and kept confidential. Authorized persons from The University of Texas at Austin and members of the Institutional Review Board have the legal right to review your research records and will protect the confidentiality of those records to the extent permitted by law. All publications will exclude any information that will make it possible to identify you as a subject. Throughout the study, the researchers will notify you of new information that may become available and that might affect your decision to remain in the study.

Contacts and Questions:

If you have any questions about the study please ask now. If you have questions later, want additional information, or wish to withdraw your participation call the researchers conducting the study. Their names, phone numbers, and e-mail addresses are at the top of this page.

If you would like to obtain information about the research study, have questions, concerns, complaints or wish to discuss problems about a research study with someone unaffiliated with the study, please contact the IRB Office at (512) 471-8871 or Jody Jensen, Ph.D., Chair, The University of Texas at Austin Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects at (512) 232-2685. Anonymity, if desired, will be protected to the extent possible. As an alternative method of contact, an email may be sent to orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu or a letter sent to IRB Administrator, P.O. Box 7426, Mail Code A 3200, Austin, TX 78713.

You will be given a copy of this information to keep for your records.

Appendix C: Sample Recruitment Email

Recruitment E-mail:

Dear [Name of Potential Participant],

You are receiving this e-mail because you have been identified as a faculty member or student of an Historically Black College or University. I am a doctoral student from the University of Texas at Austin, Department of Curriculum and Instruction. This is an invitation to participate in a research study about the manifestation of social justice and teacher education for Social Justice in an Historically Black College or University and Physical Education Teacher Education program, respectively. If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to engage in an initial audio-recorded interview to gain insight into your current role as a teacher educator, student, pre-service teacher, teaching philosophy, and other general question related to your experiences in education. The interview will take place over the phone or in-person; whichever is most convenient for you. In addition, I am also asking for permission to conduct observations of your teaching along with weekly interviews about your lesson and to use a copies of items representative of teaching for artifact analysis. It is expected that teaching observations will last 10-12 months;. If you are student, will be asked to participate in focus group to discuss video recordings of courses with which you were enrolled; your participation is completely voluntary

Attached is a copy of the informed consent document, which provides more detail about the research study. If you would like more information or have any additional questions, please contact me at Clark.1719@gmail.com or (609) 558-6765.

Please forward this e-mail to any colleagues who you think may be interested in participating.

Thank you,

Langston Clark

Recruitment Phone Script:

Hello (Name of Potential Participant)

You are receiving this phone call because you have been identified as a faculty member of a Physical Education Teacher Education program. I am Langston Clark, a doctoral student from the University of Texas at Austin, Department of Curriculum and Instruction. This is an invitation to participate in a research study about the manifestation of teacher education for

Social Justice and in Physical Education Teacher Education programs. If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to engage in an initial audio-recorded interview to gain insight into your current role as a teacher educator, teaching philosophy, and other general question related to your experiences in education. The interview will take place over the phone or in-person; whichever is most convenient for you. In addition, I am also asking for permission to conduct observations of your teaching along with weekly interviews about your lesson and to use copies of items representative of teaching for artifact analysis. It is expected that teaching observations will last 10-12 months. If you are student, will be asked to participate in focus group to discuss video recordings of courses with which you were enrolled; your participation is voluntary.

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